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HISTORY

OF THE

REVOLUTIONS IN EUROPE,

FROM THE SUBVERSION

OF

THE ROMAN EMPIRE

IN THE WEST,

TILL

THE ABDICATION OF BONAPARTE.

217.2

FROM THE FRENCH OF C. W. KOCH.

BY ANDREW CRICHTON.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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TO
THE VERY REVEREND
GEORGE HUSBAND BAIRD, D.D.
PRINCIPAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH,
THE PROMOTER OF EDUCATION AND RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION
IN THE HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS OF SCOTLAND,
AND THE FRIEND
OF EVERY OTHER BENEVOLENT AND PATRIOTIC INSTITUTION ;
THE FOLLOWING VOLUMES ARE INSCRIBED,
AS A SLIGHT,
BUT SINCERE TOKEN OF ESTEEM,
BY
THE TRANSLATOR.

THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF THE EMPEROR

OF THE GREAT MOUNTAINS

IN THE YEAR OF THE

REIGN OF THE EMPEROR

OF THE GREAT MOUNTAINS

IN THE YEAR OF THE

REIGN OF THE EMPEROR

OF THE GREAT MOUNTAINS

IN THE YEAR OF THE

REIGN OF THE EMPEROR

OF THE GREAT MOUNTAINS

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE VIEW OF THE REVOLUTIONS OF EUROPE by M. Koch, is here for the first time presented to the English reader in his own language. It has been long known and highly esteemed on the Continent, as a work of incontestable merit, and entitled to hold the first rank among productions of its kind. It occupied the labours and researches of thirty years of the author's life; and had the benefit of receiving, at different intervals, several additions and improvements from his own hand. As a concise, luminous, and accurate summary of general history, it stands unrivalled. The principal events and vicissitudes of more than fourteen hundred years, are here condensed within an incredibly small space; bringing, as it were, under one view the successive changes and destinies of Europe, from the

fall of the Roman Empire, in the fifth century, to the restoration of the Bourbons in France. The countries which the different nations, from time to time have occupied,—their laws and institutions—their progress from barbarism to refinement—the revival of arts and sciences—the origin of inventions and discoveries—and the wonderful revolutions, both moral and political, to which they gave birth,—are here detailed at once with brevity and perspicuity. The author has restricted himself as it were to the pure elements or essence of useful knowledge, discarding from his narrative every thing that did not minister to solid instruction. His book has been compared to a sort of chart or genealogical tree of history, where only the grand and prominent events have been recorded, stript of all their secondary and subordinate circumstances, which often distract the attention, without adding in the least to the interest or elucidation of the subject. His researches have thrown a new light on some of the difficulties and obscurities of the Middle Ages, particularly with regard to Chronology and Geography. His veracity and precision are unimpeachable; and though

his style has been thought inelegant, his candour, judgment and erudition, have never been called in question. Men of all parties, and of opposite opinions, both in politics and religion, have united their suffrages in his praise. M. Fontanes, Grand Master of the University of Paris—M. Levesque, Vice-President of the Class of Ancient History and Literature, and M. Dacier, Perpetual Secretary of the Third Class, in the Institute—M. Fourcroy, Director-General of Public Instruction at Paris—M. Frederic Buchholz of Berlin, who translated the *Tableau* into German, and many others, have spoken of this book in terms of the highest commendation; and obtained it a place in most of the Universities, Schools, and Libraries on the Continent.

THE REVOLUTIONS, although an excellent digest of the history and policy of Europe, claims no higher merit than that of an elementary work. It was originally designed for the young entering on their political studies, and is an outline that must be filled up by subsequent reading, and from collateral sources. With regard to the present English edition, the Translator has only to

say, that he has endeavoured to give a faithful transcript of his author, and as literal as the idiom of the two languages would admit. He has been more studious of fidelity to his original, than elegance of style, or novelty of expression. He has prefixed a short sketch of the author's life, abridged from two of his biographers, MM. Schoell and Weiss.

The first two volumes bring down the History of Europe to the French Revolution, which is all that our author undertook, or rather lived to accomplish. The period from that event to the restoration of the Bourbons in 1815, which will compose the Third Volume, has been continued by M. Schoell,* the editor of Koch's Works, and author of the *History of the Treaties of Peace*, &c. As the continuation, however, differs a little in some points, from the views of the original, and is not so full on others as might be wished, the Translator has introduced such additions and amendments as seemed necessary to complete what was deficient; according as nearly as possible

* M. Schoell has also interspersed a few explanatory paragraphs, which in the present volumes the reader will find included within brackets. [- -]

with the spirit and design of the author himself. These alterations, as well as the authorities on which they have been made, will be found carefully marked.

In conclusion it may be necessary to state, that, for the sake of uniformity, the whole of the Notes have been appended to the third volume. The Alphabetical Index has been omitted as unnecessary. The Chronological Tables are in some degree superseded, by the dates being regularly introduced into the text. The same may be said of the Maps which accompany the original; their want will in a great measure be compensated by the excellence of our common Atlases, and the improvements that have taken place in this department of Geographical Science since Koch wrote his *Revolutions of Europe*.

EDINBURGH; NOVEMBER, 1828.

LIFE OF KOCH.

CHRISTOPHER WILLIAM KOCH, equally distinguished as a lawyer and a learned historian, was born on the 9th of May 1737 at Bouxwiller, a small town in the seigniory of Lichtenberg in Alsace, which then belonged to the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt. His father, who was a member of the Chamber of Finance under that prince, sent him to an excellent school in his native place, where he received the rudiments of his education. At the age of thirteen, he went to the Protestant University of Strasbourg, where he prosecuted his studies under the celebrated Schœpflin. Law was the profession to which he was destined; but he showed an early predilection for the study of history, and the sciences connected with it, such as *Diplomatics*, or the art of deciphering and verifying ancient writs and chartularies, *Genealogy*, *Chronology*, &c. Schœpflin was not slow to appreciate

the rising merit of his pupil, and wished to make him the companion of his labours. He admitted him to his friendship, and became the means of establishing him as his successor in that famous political academy, which his reputation had formed at Strasbourg, by attracting to that city the youth of the first families, and from all parts of Europe. Koch devoted much of his time to the Canon Law, and soon gave a proof of the progress he had made in that branch of study, by the *Academical Dissertation* which he published in 1761, under the title of *Commentatio de Collatione dignitatum et beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum in imperio Romano-Germanico*. This treatise was a prelude to his *Commentary on the Pragmatic Sanction*, which he published in 1789—a work which excited an extraordinary sensation in Catholic Germany, and procured the author the favourable notice of such prelates as were most eminent for learning and piety.

After taking his academic degree, Koch repaired to Paris in 1762, where he staid a year; honoured with the society of the most distinguished literati in the capital, and frequenting the Royal Library, wholly occupied in those researches which prepared him for the learned labours in which he afterwards engaged. On his return to Strasbourg, he wrote the continuation of the *Historia Zaringo-Badensis*, of which the first volume only was

drawn up by Schœpflin. All the others are entirely the work of Koch, though they bear the name of the master who had charged him with the execution of this task. Schœpflin bequeathed to the city of Strasbourg, in 1766, his valuable library and his cabinet of antiq̃ues, on condition that Koch should be appointed keeper; which he was, in effect, on the death of the testator in 1771. He obtained, at the same time, the title of Professor, which authorized him to deliver lectures; for the chair of Schœpflin passed, according to the statutes of the University, to another professor,—a man of merit, but incapable of supplying his place as an instructor of youth in the study of the political sciences. The pupils of Schœpflin were thus transferred to Koch, who became the head of that diplomatic school, which, for sixty years, gave to the public so great a number of ministers and statesmen.

In 1779 the Government of Hanover offered him the chair of public German Law in the University of Gottingen, which he declined. Next year the Emperor Joseph II., who knew well how to distinguish merit, complimented him with the dignity of Knight of the Empire, an intermediate title between that of baron and the simple rank of noblesse. About the same period he obtained the chair of Public Law at Strasbourg, which he held until that University was suppressed at the French Revolution. Towards the end of 1789, the Pro-

testants of Alsace sent him as their envoy to Paris, to solicit from the King and the Constitutional Assembly, the maintenance of their civil and religious rights, according to the faith of former treaties. He succeeded in obtaining for them the decree of the 17th of August 1790, which sanctioned these rights, and declared that the ecclesiastical benefices of the Protestants were not included among those which the decree of the 1st of November preceding, had placed at the disposal of the nation. The former decree was moreover extended and explained by an act, bearing date December 1st 1790. Both of these were approved and ratified by the King.

Meantime, the terrors and turbulence of the Revolution had dispersed from Strasbourg that brilliant assemblage of youth, which the reputation of the professors, and the natural beauties of the place, had attracted from all quarters. These disastrous events interrupted the career of Koch, at a time when he was capable of rendering the most important services to his country. From that moment he devoted himself to public affairs. Being appointed a Member of the first Legislative Assembly, he opposed the faction which convulsed the nation, and ultimately subverted the throne. When President of the Committee of that Assembly, he exerted himself for the maintenance of peace; and, in a Report which he made in 1792, he fore-

told the calamities which would overwhelm France, if war should be declared against Austria. The republican faction, by their clamours, silenced the remonstrances of Koch, when, on the 20th of April, he spoke in opposition to a measure which proved so fatal to France. An official letter which he addressed, 10th of August, to the constituted authorities of the Lower Rhine, sufficiently expressed the horror with which that day's proceedings had inspired him. He procured, moreover, the concurrence of his fellow-citizens in a resistance, which he had then some reason to hope would be made a common cause by the other provinces. This letter drew down upon him the persecution of the ruling party. He was immured in a prison, where he languished for eleven months, and from which he had no prospect of escape, except to mount the scaffold. The revolution of the 9th Thermidor restored him to liberty, when he was appointed, by the voice of his fellow-citizens, to the Directory of their provincial department. He endeavoured by all means in his power to defeat the measures that were taken to injure his constituents; and had influence enough, it is said, to prevent the sale of the funds belonging to manufactories and hospitals. He then resumed with pleasure those functions which he had unwillingly accepted; in 1795, he recommenced his profes-

sorship of public law, and returned with new zeal to his literary labours, which had been too long interrupted. Six years he spent in these useful occupations; from which, however, he was once more detached by a decree of the Senate, which nominated him a member of the Tribunal. This nomination Koch accepted, in the hope of being useful to his Protestant countrymen, and to the city of Strasbourg, in obtaining the re-establishment of the reformed religion, and its restoration in the University. He did, in effect, exert himself much in behalf of religion, according to the confession of Augsburg, as well as of the Protestant Academy at Strasbourg, which was suppressed at this period.

The Tribunal having been suppressed, Koch declined all places of trust or honour which were offered him; and only requested permission to retire, that he might have a short interval for himself between business and the grave. A pension of 3000 francs was granted him, without any solicitation on his part. In 1808, he returned to Strasbourg, where he continued to devote himself to letters, and in administering to the public good. About the end of 1810, the Grand-master of the University of France conferred on him the title of Honorary Rector of the Academy of Strasbourg. His health, which had been prolonged by a life of great temperance and regularity and the peace which results from a good conscience, be-

came disordered in 1812, when he fell into a state of languor, which terminated his life on the 25th of October 1813. His colleagues, the professors of Strasbourg, erected to his memory a monument of white marble in the church of St Thomas, near those of Schœpflin and Oberlin; which was executed by M. Ohnmacht, an eminent sculptor in Strasbourg. One of his biographers has pronounced the following eulogium on Koch :—" A noble regard for justice and truth, a penetration beyond common, a diligence unrivalled in historical researches, a remarkable talent in arranging and illustrating his subject, an incorruptible integrity of principle, and unclouded serenity of mind, with a zealous desire of rendering his researches, his information and activity, useful to his species—these were the prominent features of the mind and character of this amiable man." In addition to this, it has been remarked, that although Professor Koch had not the art of a graceful or even a fluent elocution, no man ever possessed in a higher degree the talents and qualifications of a public instructor. Like Socrates, he had a manner peculiar to himself. He was not so much a teacher of sciences, as of the means of acquiring them. He could inspire his scholars with a taste for labour, and knew how to call forth their several powers and dispositions. Though a man of the most domestic habits, and a lover of children, Koch never married.

Two lives of this celebrated professor have been written by foreigners. The one is by M. Schweighæuser junior, a professor at Strasbourg; and the other is prefixed to the new edition of the *Histoire des Traités de Paix*, by M. Schœll, the editor and continuator of several of our author's works. This latter biographer has accompanied his sketch with a descriptive catalogue of all Koch's works, the principal of which are the following:—(1.) *Tables Genealogiques des Maisons Souveraines du Midi et de l'Ouest de l'Europe*. (2.) *Sanctio Pragmatica Germanorum illustrata*. (3.) *Abrégé de l'Histoire des Traités de Paix entre les Puissances de l'Europe*. A new edition of this work appeared in 1818, enlarged and continued by M. Schœll down to the Congress of Vienna and the Treaty of Paris, 1815. (4.) *Table des Traités entre la France et les Puissances Etrangères, depuis la Paix de Westphalie, &c.* (5.) *Tableau des Revolutions de l'Europe, &c.* (6.) *Tables Genealogiques des Maisons Souveraines de l'Est et du Nord de l'Europe*. This work was published, after the author's death, by M. Schœll. Besides these, Koch left various manuscripts, containing memoirs of his own life; and several valuable papers on the ancient ecclesiastical history and literature of his native province.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE work here presented to the public, is a summary of the Revolutions, both general and particular, which have happened in Europe since the extinction of the Roman Empire in the fifth century. As an elementary book, it will be found useful to those who wish to have a concise and general view of the successive revolutions that have changed the aspect of states and kingdoms, and given birth to the existing policy and established order of society in modern times.

Without some preliminary acquaintance with the annals of these revolutions, we can neither study the history of our own country to advantage, nor appreciate the influence which the different states, formed from the wreck of the ancient

Roman Empire, reciprocally exercised on each other. Allied as it were by the geographical position of their territories, by a conformity in their religion, language, and manners, these states, in course of time, contracted new attachments in the ties of mutual interests, which the progress of civilization, commerce, and industry, tended more and more to cement and confirm. Many of them, whom fortune had elevated to the summit of power and prosperity, carried their laws, their arts and institutions, both civil and military, far beyond the limits of their own dominions. The extensive sway which the Romish hierarchy held for nearly a thousand years over the greater part of the European kingdoms, is well known to every reader of history.

This continuity of intercourse and relationship among the powers of Europe, became the means of forming them into a kind of republican system; it gave birth to national law and conventional rights, founded on the agreement of treaties, and the usages of common practice. A laudable emulation sprung up among contemporary states. Their jealousies, and even their competitions and

divisions, contributed to the progress of civilization, and the attainment of that high state of perfection to which all human sciences and institutions have been carried by the nations of modern Europe.

It is these political connexions, this reciprocal influence of kingdoms and their revolutions, and especially the varieties of system which Europe has experienced in the lapse of so many ages, that require to be developed in a general view, such as that which professes to be the object of the present Work.

The author has here remodelled his "View of the Revolutions of the Middle Ages," (published in 1790), and extended or abridged the different periods according to circumstances. In continuing this work down to the present time, he has deemed it necessary to conclude at the French Revolution; as the numerous results of that great event are too much involved in uncertainty to be clearly or impartially exhibited by contemporary writers.*

* In the edition of 1823, from which the present translation is made, the *Tableau* has been continued by the Editor, M. Schœll, down to the 20th of November 1815. T.

The Work is divided into eight periods of time, * according with the principal revolutions which have changed, in succession, the political state of Europe. At the head of each period is placed either the designation of its particular revolution, or that of the power or empire which held the ascendancy at the time. In limiting his treatise solely to the revolutions of Europe, the writer has not touched upon those of Asia and the East, except in so far as they have had an immediate influence on the destinies of Europe. Conscious also that the distinguishing characteristic of an historian is veracity, and that the testimony of a writer who has not himself been an eyewitness of the events he records cannot be relied on with implicit confidence, the author has imposed on himself the invariable rule of citing, with scrupulous care, the principal authorities and vouchers of each period and country that have guided him during his researches, in selecting and examining his materials by the torch of patient criticism. Without this labour and precaution, the Work would have been of no avail as an elementary help to those who were

* Nine in the last editions, including the continuation,

desirous of acquiring a more minute and solid knowledge of history.

As a useful and subsidiary accompaniment, an *Introduction* has been prefixed, in which are given some general remarks on history and geography, as also on genealogy and chronology, which may be regarded as auxiliary sciences. These preliminary notices are followed by a short outline of ancient history, down to the time of the Barbarian invasion in the fifth century. With this grand era the present Work properly commences, when a new series of kingdoms and governments sprung up in Europe. A genealogical list of the principal sovereign houses of Europe has been appended, and chronological tables, which mark the dates of all the most important events. Seven maps have been inserted, which serve to illustrate the geography, and exhibit the principal changes that have happened in Europe during the period commonly assigned to the history of the Middle Ages. Finally, to render the study of this Work more easy and instructive to youth, the whole is summed up and closed with a correct Alphabetical Index.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

HISTORY has very properly been considered as that particular branch of philosophy, which teaches, by examples, how men ought to conduct themselves in all situations of life, both public and private. Such is the infirmity and incapacity of the human mind, that abstract or general ideas make no lasting impression on it; and often appear to us doubtful or obscure,—at least if they be not illustrated and confirmed by experience and observation.

It is from history alone, which superadds to our own experience that of other men and of other times, that we learn to conquer the prejudices which we have imbibed from education, and which our own experience, often as contracted as our education, tends in general rather to strengthen than to subdue or destroy. “Not to know (says Cicero) what happened before we were born, is to remain always a child; for what were the life of man, did we not combine present events with the recollections of past ages?”

There are certain principles or rules of conduct that hold true in all cases; because they accord and consist with the invariable nature of things. To collect and digest these, belongs to the student of history, who may, in this way, easily form to him-

self a system, both of morals and of politics, founded on the combined judgment of all ages, and confirmed by universal experience. Moreover, the advantages that we reap from the study of history are preferable to those we acquire by our own experience ; for not only does the knowledge we derive from this kind of study embrace a greater number of objects, but it is purchased at the expense of others, while the attainments we make from personal experience often cost us extremely dear.

“ We may learn wisdom, (says Polybius) either from our own misfortunes, or the misfortunes of others. The knowledge (adds that celebrated historian) which we acquire at our own expense, is undoubtedly the most efficacious ; but that which we learn from the misfortunes of others is the safest, in as much as we receive instruction without pain, or danger to ourselves.” This knowledge has also the advantage of being in general more accurate, and more complete than that which we derive from individual experience. To history alone it belongs to judge with impartiality of public characters and political measures, which are often either misunderstood or not properly appreciated by their contemporaries ; and while men individually, and from their own observation, can see great events as it were but in part, history embraces the whole in all its various details. Thus, for example, we can see but imperfectly all the bearings of that mighty revolution which is now (1793) passing before our eyes ; and it will remain for posterity to perceive all its influence and effects, and to judge of its different actors without feelings of irritation or party spirit.

It is a fact universally admitted, that all ranks

and professions of men, find in history appropriate instruction, and rules of conduct suited to their respective conditions. In occupying the mind agreeably with such a vast diversity of subjects, it serves to form the judgment, to inspire us with the ambition of glory, and the love of virtue. Those especially who devote themselves to the study of politics, or who are destined to the management of public affairs, will discover in history the structure and constitution of governments, their faults, and their advantages, their strength and their weakness; they will find there the origin and progress of empires, the principles that have raised them to greatness, and the causes which have prepared their fall. The philosopher, and the man of letters, will there trace the progress of the human mind, the errors and illusions that have led it astray; the connexion of causes and effects; the origin of arts and sciences, their changes, and their influence on society; as well as the innumerable evils that have sprung from ignorance, superstition and tyranny.

History, in short, avails more than all precepts to cure us of those mistakes originating in self-love, and national partiality. He who knows no other country than his own, easily persuades himself that the government, manners, and opinions of the little corner of the earth which he inhabits, are the only ones consistent with reason and propriety. Self-love, so natural to man, cherishes this prejudice, and makes him disdain all other nations. It is only by an extensive acquaintance with history, and by familiarizing ourselves with the institutions, customs, and habits of different ages, and

of different countries, that we learn to esteem wisdom and virtue, and to acknowledge talents wherever they exist. Besides, when we observe, that though revolutions are continually changing the face of kingdoms, nothing essentially new ever happens in the world, we cease to be longer the slaves of that extravagant admiration, and that credulous astonishment which is generally the characteristic of ignorance, or the mark of a feeble mind.

The most important attribute of history is truth, and in order to find this out, it is necessary to examine the materials which serve as the elements and evidences of history, by the test of sound criticism. These materials are of two kinds : I. *Public Acts and Records*, such as medals, inscriptions, treaties, charters, official papers ; and in general, all writings drawn up or published by the established authorities. II. *Private writers*, viz. authors of histories, of chronicles, memoirs, letters, &c. These writers are either contemporary, or such as live remote from the times of which they write.

Public acts and official records, are the strongest evidences we can possibly have of historical truth ; but as, in different ages, there have been fabricators of pretended acts and writings, it becomes necessary, before making use of any public document, to be assured that it is neither spurious nor falsified. The art of judging of ancient charters or diplomas, and discriminating the true from the false, is called *Diplomatics* ;¹ in the same way as we give the name of *Numismatics* to the art of distinguishing real medals from counterfeit. Both of these sciences are necessary ingredients in the criticism of history.

It will not be out of place to subjoin here some rules that may serve as guides in the proper selection of historical documents. (1.) The authority of any chartulary or public act is preferable to that of a private writer, even though he were contemporary. These public registers it is always necessary to consult if possible, before having recourse to the authority of private writers ; and a history that is not supported by such public vouchers must in consequence be very imperfect. (2.) When public acts are found to accord with the testimony of contemporary authors, there results a complete and decisive proof, the most satisfactory that can be desired, for establishing the truth of historical facts. (3.) The testimony of a contemporary author ought generally to be preferred to that of an historian, who has written long after the period in which the events have happened. (4.) Whenever contemporary writers are defective, great caution must be used with regard to the statements of more modern historians, whose narratives are often very inaccurate, or altogether fabulous. (5.) The unanimous silence of contemporary authors on any memorable event, is of itself a strong presumption for suspecting, or even for entirely rejecting, the testimony of very recent writers. (6.) Historians who narrate events that have happened anterior to the times in which they lived, do not, properly speaking, deserve credit, except in so far as they make us acquainted with the sources whence they have drawn their information. (7.) In order to judge of the respective merits of historians, and the preference we ought to give some beyond others, it is necessary to examine the spirit and character of each, as well as the circumstances in which they are placed at the

time of writing. Hence it follows :—That we ought to distrust an historian who is deficient in critical discernment, who is fond of fables, or who scruples not, in order to please and amuse his readers, to alter or disguise the truth : That as impartiality is an essential quality in a historian, we must always be on our guard against writers who allow their minds to be warped aside by the prejudices of their nation, their party, or their profession ; for, in order to be impartial, the historian must form his judgment on actions themselves, without regard to the actors : That historians who have had a personal concern in the transactions, or been eyewitnesses of the events they describe, or who, writing by the permission or authority of government, have had free access to national archives and public libraries, ought always to be preferred to those who have not enjoyed the same advantages : That among modern historians, he who has written last often deserves more confidence than those who have handled the same subject before him ; inasmuch as he has had it in his power to obtain more exact information, to avoid all party spirit, and rectify the errors of his predecessors.

There are several auxiliary sciences which may be said to constitute the very foundation of history ; and among these, geography, genealogy, and chronology, hold the first rank. In truth, no fact can be fully established, nor can any narrative possess interest, unless the circumstances relating to the times and places in which the events have happened, as well as to the persons who have been concerned in them, be previously made known, and distinctly explained. It is obvious, therefore, that geography, genealogy, and chronology, are the

faithful interpreters and inseparable companions of history.

Geography may be divided into the mathematical, the physical, and the political; according to the different objects which it embraces. Mathematical geography regards the earth, considered as a measurable body. Physical geography has for its object to examine the natural or physical structure of the earth; while political geography illustrates the different divisions of the earth which men have invented, such as kingdoms, states, and provinces. This science is also divided, relatively to the times of which it treats, into ancient, middle-age, and modern geography. Ancient geography is that which explains the primitive state of the world, and its political divisions prior to the subversion of the Roman Empire in the west. By the geography of the middle ages, is understood that which acquaints us with the political state of the nations who figured in history from the fifth century to the end of the fifteenth, or the beginning of the sixteenth. Modern geography represents to us the state of the world and its political divisions, from the sixteenth century to the present time.

Antiquity has handed down to us the works of several very eminent geographers, the most celebrated of whom are Strabo, Ptolemy, Pomponius Mela, Pausanias, and Stephanus of Byzantium. Among the moderns who have laboured in this department of geography, those more particularly deserving of notice, are Cuvier, Cellarius, Briet, D'Anville, Gosselin, Mannert, and Ukert.

The geography of the middle ages is but little known; and remains yet a sort of desert which demands cultivation. There does not exist a single

geographical work which gives a correct representation of that new order of things, which the German nations introduced into Europe after the downfall of the Roman Empire in the fifth century. The literati of France and Germany have thrown some rays of light on certain parts of these obscure regions ; but no nation in Europe can yet boast of having thoroughly explored them.

Of modern authors, too, the most conspicuous as the restorer of geographical science, is Sebastian Munster, a German, who published a voluminous work on cosmography, towards the middle of the sixteenth century. The Flemings and the Dutch have been among the earliest cultivators of geography since the revival of letters. Ortelius, Gerard Mercator, Varenius, Janson, Bleau, and Fischer, are well known by the maps and learned works which they have produced.

Among the number of celebrated French geographers are to be reckoned Sanson, Delille, Cassini, D'Anville ; and more recently Zannoni, Bauche, Mentelle, Barbié du Bocage, Malte-Brun, &c. Delisle is the first who submitted geography to the touchstone of astronomical observation. Busching, a German, wrote a work on geography, which has been translated into several languages, and has received various additions and improvements, especially in the hands of the French translators. M. Ritter, a professor at Berlin, published a work in which he gives a new and scientific form to geography.

It was during the latter half of the eighteenth century, that the attention of the learned was turned more particularly towards geography, when a series of the most elegant maps appeared in all

the principal states of Europe. The wars that sprung from the revolution encouraged several engineers and geographers, both foreigners and Frenchmen, to publish those masterpieces of their art, the charts and plans of the countries that had served as the theatre of hostilities.

Connected with geography is the science of *Statistics*, or the study of the constitution and political economy of states. Two Italians, Sansovino and Botero, about the end of the sixteenth century, were the first that attempted to treat this as a particular science, separate and distinct from geography. The Germans followed nearly in the footsteps of the Italian writers; they introduced statistics into their Universities as a branch of study, and gave it also the name by which it is still known.² It was chiefly, however, during the course of the eighteenth century that the governments of Europe encouraged the study of this new science, which borrows its illustrations from history, and constitutes at present an essential branch of national polity.

GENEALOGY, or the science which treats of the origin and descent of illustrious families, is not less important to the knowledge of history, than geography. It teaches us to know and distinguish the principal characters that have acted a conspicuous part on the theatre of the world; and by giving us clear and explicit ideas of the ties of relationship that subsist among sovereigns, it enables us to investigate the rights of succession, and the respective claims of rival princes.

The study of Genealogy is full of difficulties, on account of the uncertainty and fabulous obscurity in which the origin of almost every great

family is enveloped. Vanity, aided by flattery, has given birth to a thousand legendary wonders, that fall to pieces at the touch of sound criticism. It is by the light of this science that we learn to distinguish certainties from probabilities, and probabilities from fables and conjectures. Few families who have occupied the thrones of former dynasties, or who now hold preeminent rank in Europe, can trace their genealogy beyond the twelfth century. The House of Capet is the only one that can boast of a pedigree that reaches back to the middle of the ninth century. The origin of the royal families of Savoy, Lorraine, Brunswick, England, and Baden, belongs to the eleventh century; all the others are of a date posterior to these.

A single fact in diplomatics has proved sufficient to discredit a multitude of errors and fables, that tradition had engrafted on the legends of the dark ages. From the examinations that have been made of ancient charters and records, there is abundant evidence that, prior to the twelfth century, among families even the most illustrious, the distinction of surnames was unknown. The greatest noblemen, and the presumption is much stronger that common gentlemen, never used any other signature than their baptismal name; to which they sometimes annexed that of the dignity or order with which they were invested. There was therefore little chance of distinguishing families from each other, and still less of distinguishing individuals of one and the same family. It was only towards the end of the eleventh century, and during the era of the crusades, that the use of family names was gradually introduced; and that

they began, in their public transactions, to super-add to their baptismal and honorary names, that of the country or territory they possessed, or the castle where they had their residence ; and it must have required nearly two hundred years before this practice became general in Europe.

The Germans were the first, after the Reformation, who combined the study of genealogy with that of history. Among their most distinguished genealogists may be mentioned Reinerus Reineccius, Jerome Henninges, Elias Reusnerus, Nicolas Rittershusiers, James-William Imhof, and the two Gebhards of Luneburg, father and son. The work of Henninges is much sought after, on account of its rarity ; but the genealogical labours of the two Gebhards are particularly remarkable for the profound and accurate criticism they display. The principal writers on this subject among the French are, D'Hozier, Godefroy, Andrew Duchesne, St Marthe, Father Anselme, Chazot de Nantigny, and M. de St Allais.

CHRONOLOGY, or the science of computing time, represents facts or events in the order in which they have occurred. The historian ought by no means to neglect to ascertain, as nearly as possible, the exact and precise date of events ; since, without this knowledge, he will be perpetually liable to commit anachronisms, to confound things with persons, and often to mistake effects for causes, or causes for effects.

This study is not without its difficulties, which are as perplexing as they are singularly various, both in kind and degree. These embarrassments relate chiefly, (1.) To the age of the world ; (2.)

The different forms of the year; (3.) The number of years that elapsed from the creation to the birth of Christ; (4.) The variety of epochs or periods of reckoning time.

Many of the ancient philosophers maintained that the world was eternal. Ocellus Lucanus, a Greek philosopher of the Pythagorean sect, attempted to prove this hypothesis, in a treatise entitled *De Universo*, which the Marquis D'Argens and the Abbé Batteux have translated into French. Aristotle followed in the footsteps of Ocellus. His opinion as to the eternity of the universe, is detailed at length in his commentaries on Physics.

Some modern philosophers, as Buffon, Hamilton, Dolomieu, Saussure, Faujas de St Fond, &c. have assigned to our globe an existence long anterior to the ages when history commences. Their reasoning they support by the conformation of the globe itself, as well as the time that must have necessarily elapsed before the earth, in the progressive operations of nature, could be rendered a suitable habitation for man.

The most ancient account that we have of the origin of the world, and of the human race, is derived from Moses. This leader and lawgiver of the Jewish nation, lived about 1500 years before Christ; and nearly 1000 before Herodotus, the most ancient profane author whose works have been handed down to our times. According to Moses and the Jewish annals, the history of the human race does not yet comprehend a period of six thousand years. This account seems to be in opposition to that of several ancient nations, such as the Egyptians, Indians, Chaldeans, Thibetians, and

Chinese, who carry back their chronology to a very remote date, and far beyond what Moses has assigned to the human race. But it is sufficient at present to remark, that this high antiquity, which vanity has led these nations to adopt as a reality, is either altogether imaginary, or purely mythological, founded on a symbolical theology, whose mysteries and allegories have been but little understood. This primeval epoch is usually filled with gods and demigods, who are alleged to have reigned over these nations for so many myriads of years.

Traditions so fabulous and chimerical will never destroy the authenticity of Moses, who, independently of his nativity, and the remote age in which he lived, merits implicit credit from the simplicity of his narrative, and from the circumstance, that there has never yet been discovered on the surface, or in the internal structure of the earth, any organic evidence or work of human art; that can lead us to believe that the history of the world, or more properly speaking, of the human race, is antecedent to the age which the Jewish legislator has assigned it.

With regard to the division of time, a considerable period must, no doubt, have elapsed before men began to reckon by years, calculated according to astronomical observations. Two sorts or forms of computation have been successively in use among different nations. Some have employed solar years, calculated by the annual course of the sun; others have made use of lunar years, calculated by the periodical revolutions of the moon. All Christian nations of the present day adopt the

solar year; while the lunar calculation is that followed by the Mahometans. The solar year consists of 365 days, 5 hours, 48', 45'', 30''; the lunar year, of 354 days, 3 hours, 48', 38'', 12''.

The invention, or more properly speaking, the calculation of the solar year, is due to the ancient Egyptians, who, by the position of their country, as well as by the periodical overflowings and ebblings of the Nile, had early and obvious inducements for making astronomical observations. The solar year has undergone, in process of time, various corrections and denominations. The most remarkable of these are indicated by the distinctions, still in use, of the Julian, the Gregorian, and the Reformed year.

Julius Cæsar introduced into the Roman empire, the solar or Egyptian year, which took from him the name of the Julian year. This he substituted instead of the lunar year, which the Romans had used before his time. It was distinguished, on account of a slight variation in the reckoning, into the common and bissextile or leap year. The common Julian year consisted of 365 days; and the bissextile, which returned every four years, of 366 days. This computation was faulty, inasmuch as it allowed 365 days, and 6 entire hours, for the annual revolution of the sun; being an excess every year, of 11', 14'', 30''', beyond the true time. This, in a long course of ages, had amounted to several days; and began, at length, to derange the order of the seasons.

Pope Gregory XIII.,³ wishing to correct this error, employed an able mathematician, named Louis Lilio, to reform the Julian year, according

to the true annual course of the sun. A new calendar was drawn up, which was called after the name of that pontiff, the Gregorian calendar; and as, in consequence of the incorrectness of the Julian era, the civil year had gained ten days, the same Pope ordered, by a bull published in 1581, that these should be expunged from the calendar; so that, instead of the 5th of October 1582, they should reckon it the 15th.

The Catholic States adopted this new calendar without the least difficulty; but the Protestants in the Empire, and the rest of Europe, as also the Russians and the Greeks, adhered to the Julian year; and hence the distinction between the old and new style, to which it is necessary to pay attention in all public acts and writings since the year 1582 of the Christian era. The difference between the old and new style, which, until 1699, was only ten days, and eleven from the commencement of 1700, must be reckoned twelve days during the present century of 1800; so that the 1st of January of the old year, answers to the 13th of the new.

The *Reformed year* or *Calendar*, as it is called, is distinct from the Gregorian, and applies to the calculation of the year, which was made by a professor at Jena, named Weigel. It differs from the Gregorian year, as to the method of calculating the time of Easter, and the other moveable feasts of the Christian churches. The Protestants of Germany, Holland, Denmark and Switzerland, adopted this new calendar in 1700. Their example was followed in 1752, by Great Britain; and in 1753, by Sweden; but since the year 1776, the Protes-

tants of Germany, Switzerland and Holland, abandoned the reformed calendar, and adopted the Gregorian; and there is, properly speaking, no nation in Europe at this day, except the Russians and the Greeks, which makes use of the Julian calendar, or old style. ⁴

But it is not merely the variations that have prevailed as to the form and computation of the year, that have perplexed the science of chronology; the different methods of commencing it, have also been the source of much confusion. The Romans, from the time of Julius Cæsar, began the year on the first of January. The ancient Greeks at first reckoned from the winter solstice, and afterwards from midsummer; the Syro-Macedonians or Seleucidæ, commenced from the autumnal equinox. The sacred year of the Jews, began with the first new moon after the vernal equinox, that is, in the month of March; and their civil year began with the new moon immediately following the autumnal equinox, that is, in the month of September.

The same diversity of practice which we observe among the ancients, existed also in the middle ages. The Franks, under the Merovingian kings, began the year with the month of March. The Popes began it sometimes at Christmas, or the 25th of December; sometimes on the 1st of January; and sometimes on the 25th of March, called indiscriminately the day of the Annunciation or Incarnation. Under the Carlovingian princes, two methods of beginning the year were generally prevalent in France,—the one fixed its commencement at Christmas, or the 25th of December, and the other at Easter; that is, at the

day on which that moveable feast happened to fall. This latter custom prevailed also under the Capetian kings, and it was not suppressed until near the middle of the sixteenth century. Charles IX., by an edict published in 1564, ordered, that in France the year should henceforth commence on the 1st of January. Previously to this edict, it sometimes happened, from the variable date of Easter, that the same month was found to occur twice in one and the same year. For example, the year 1358 having begun on the 1st of April, on which Easter day happened to fall, did not terminate until the 20th of April following, that is, on the eve preceding Easter. There were consequently in this year, nearly two complete months of April. Since the reign of Charles IX., it has continued the invariable practice in France to begin the year on the 1st of January.

In England, the year used to commence on the 25th of March, and the old style was there observed until 1753 ; when, by virtue of an act of Parliament, passed in 1752, the beginning of the year was transferred to the 1st of January. It was decreed also, at the same time, that, in order to accommodate the English chronology to the new style, the 3d of September 1752, should be reckoned the 14th of the same month.

It is easy to conceive the perplexity and confusion that must have been introduced into chronology, as much by the difference of styles as by the different methods of commencing the year. Nothing is more probable, than that we should here find mistakes and contradictions which, in reality, have no existence ; and the more so, as the writers or recorders of public acts, who employ these dif-

ferent styles, or date the beginning of the year variously, never give us any intimation on the subject ; and all reckon promiscuously from the year of Christ's nativity, without informing us whether they follow the old or the new style—whether they commence the year in the month of January or March, at Easter or at Christmas.

Modern chronologists have found much embarrassment in calculating the number of years that elapsed between the creation and the birth of Christ. Father Petau, one of the most learned men in this science, admits, that this point of chronology is to be established rather by probable conjectures than solid arguments. There have even been reckoned, according to Fabricius, about a hundred and forty different opinions respecting the epoch of Christ's nativity. Some fix this era in the year of the world 3616, while others carry it back to the year 6484. This great discordance of opinions arises from the contradictions found to exist between the three principal texts of the Old Testament. The Hebrew text, for instance, to which most chronologists give the preference, fixes the deluge in the year of the world 1656 ; while, according to the Samaritan text, it happened in 1307 ; and, according to the Septuagint, in 2242. The system at present most accredited, is that of Archbishop Usher, an Irish prelate, who, founding his calculation on the Hebrew text, fixes the date of Christ's nativity in the year of the world 4000.

A variety of epochs prevailed at different times ; as most nations, both ancient and modern, who had governments and laws of their own, adopted chronological eras that were peculiar to themselves. The ancient Greeks had their Olympiads, and

the Syro-Macedonians the era of the Seleucidæ. The Romans calculated by consulships, which became the era of their public acts; and besides these, their historians used to reckon from the foundation of the city, which goes back 752 years before Christ, or 3249 after the creation. The era of Dioclesian, introduced in honour of that emperor, and sometimes also called the era of the martyrs, began in the year 284 after Christ, and was for a long time used in the West. But, without stopping here to enumerate the different eras of antiquity, we shall rather restrict ourselves at present to the pointing out of those that belong more properly to modern history, viz. 1. The era of the modern Greeks. 2. Of the modern Jews. 3. Of the Spaniards. 4. The Hegira, or Mahometan era. 5. The Dionysian, or Christian era.

The era of the modern Greeks is known by the name of the Mundane era of Constantinople. It begins 5508 years before the birth of Christ. The first year of the incarnation thus falls in the year of the world 5509; and, consequently, the year 1823 of the Christian era answers to the year 7331 of the Mundane era of Constantinople. Under this system, two kinds of years are in use, the civil and the ecclesiastical. The former commences with the month of September, the other has begun sometimes on the 21st of March, and sometimes on the 1st of April. This era is followed, even at this day, by the Greek church. The Russians, who adopted it from the Greeks, along with the Christian religion, made use of it even in their civil acts, until the reign of Peter the Great. That emperor, in 1700, abolished the Mundane era of Constantinople, and substituted

in its place the Christian era, and the Julian calendar or old style.

The modern Jews have likewise a mundane era; as they reckon from the creation of the world. It commences on the 7th of October of the Julian year, and reckons 3761 years before Christ. The year 3762 of the world, is the first of the Christian era, according to the Jews; and the current year (1823) answers to the year 5583 of their mundane era.

In Spain, the era began with the year of Rome 714, 38 years before the birth of Christ; being the time when the triumvirate was renewed between Cæsar Octavianus, Mark Antony, and Lepidus. The Spaniards, wishing to give Octavianus some testimony of their satisfaction on being comprehended within his province, began a new era with this event,⁵ which prevailed not only in Spain and Portugal, but also in Africa, and those parts of France which were subject to the dominion of the Visigoths. It is of great importance to know, that the Spaniards and Portuguese constantly employed this era in their annals and public acts, so late as the 14th and 15th centuries, when they substituted the Christian era in its place.

The era which the Mussulman nations follow is that of Mahomet, called the Hegira, or the Flight of the Prophet. It began on the 16th of July 622 A. C., and is composed of lunar years. In order to find out in what year of the vulgar era any given year of the Hegira falls, it is necessary first to reduce the lunar into solar years, and then add the number 622. For example, the year 1238 of the Hegira, answers to the year 1823 of the vul-

gar, or Christian era. It began on the 18th of September 1822, and ended on the 7th of the following September.

Dionysius or Denys the Little, a Roman Abbé, who lived in the time of the Emperor Justinian, about the year of Christ 530, was the author of the vulgar era, which afterwards received a more perfect form from the hands of the venerable Bede, an English monk, about the year 720. Before that time, the Latins, or Christians of the West, employed the era of the Consuls, or that of Dioclesian. Denys the Little, imagining it would be more convenient for the Christians to reckon their time from the birth of Christ, applied himself with great industry to calculate the number of years that had elapsed from the Incarnation to his own times. Modern chronologists have remarked, that both Denys and Bede were mistaken in their calculations; but a difference of opinion prevails on this subject, as may be seen in the learned work of Fabricius. There are some of these chronologists who date the birth of Christ thirty-four years earlier, while others find a difference of but one year, or at most four, between the true epoch of the nativity, and that adopted by Denys. This disagreement of the modern chronologists has given rise to the distinction between the *true era* of the birth of Christ, and the *Vulgar* or *Dionysian* era, which the general usage has now consecrated and established.

In France, this era was not introduced until the eighth century. We find it employed, for the first time, in the acts of the Councils of Germany, Lip-tines, and Soissons, held in the years 742-3-4, under Pepin, surnamed the Short. The Kings of France ne-

ver used it in their public acts, until the end of the ninth century; and the Popes only since the eleventh.

In order to compare the different eras, and to facilitate the process of reducing the years of one into those of another, a scheme has been proposed called the Julian period. The invention of this is due to Joseph Scaliger, a professor at Leyden, and well known by his chronological works. He gave it the name of *Julian*, because the Julian year served as the basis of it. It is composed of the several products of the cycles of the sun, the moon, and the indictions multiplied by each other.

The *cycle of the sun* is a period, or revolution of twenty-eight solar years; at the end of which the same order of years returns, by a kind of circle or cycle. Its use is to indicate the days on which each year commences, and the Dominical Letters. These are the first seven letters of the alphabet, A, B, C, D, E, F, G, which are employed to indicate the seven days of the week, more particularly the Sabbath (*dies Dominica*). At the end of twenty-eight years, of which this cycle is composed, there returns a new order or series of years, so similar to the preceding, that the dominical letters again answer exactly to the same days.

The *cycle of the moon* comprises nineteen lunar years, twelve of which are called common, and the remaining seven intercalary; these yield a product of 6939 days 18 hours, according to the calculation of the antients;⁶ and are equal to nineteen Julian or solar years. By means of this cycle always recurring, the new moons fall again on the same days and the same hours on which they had happened nineteen years before; so that, for all the new moons, the cycle which is to come is entirely similar to

the preceding. The cipher which indicates the year of the cycle, is called the *golden number*, because they used to write it in characters of gold in the ancient calendars, where it was employed to mark the times of the new moons.

The *cycle of indictions* is a cycle which recurs every fifteen years ; and which, like those already mentioned, was frequently employed in charters and public records. The origin of these indictions is generally referred to a contribution or cess appointed, for fifteen years, by the Romans, and afterwards renewed for the same period. They began in the reign of Constantine the Great, that is, about the year of Christ 313, and are distinguished into three kinds ; (1.) that of Constantinople, which was employed by the Greek Emperors, and began on the 1st of September ; (2.) that which was termed the Imperial, or Cæsarean indiction, the use of which was limited to the West, and which began on the 25th of September ; and, (3.) the Roman or Pontifical indiction, which the Popes employed in their bulls. This last began on the 25th of December, or the 1st of January, according as the one or the other of these days was reckoned by the Romans the first of the new year.

The cycle of the sun, comprising twenty-eight years, and that of the moon nineteen, when multiplied together, give a product of 532, which is called the Paschal cycle, because it serves to ascertain the feast of Easter. The product of 532, multiplied by 15, the cycle of indictions, amounts to the number 7980, which constitutes the Julian period. Within the compass of this period may be placed, as it were, under one view, these different eras and

epochs, in order to compare and reconcile them with each other; adopting, as their common term, the nativity of Christ, fixed to the year 4714 of the Julian period.

History has been divided, according to the different subjects of which it treats, into Civil, Ecclesiastical, Literary, and Philosophical History. Civil and political history is occupied entirely with events that relate to mankind, as distributed into societies, and united together by governments, laws, and manners. Ecclesiastical history is confined to those events that properly belong to religion. Literary history treats more particularly of the origin, progress, and vicissitudes of the arts and sciences. Lastly, philosophical history, which is but a branch or subdivision of literary history, illustrates the different systems of philosophy that have flourished in the world, both in ancient and modern times.

Another division of history, according to its extent, is that of Universal, General, and Particular History. Universal history gives a kind of outline or summary of the events of all the nations that have figured on the earth, from the remotest ages to the present time.

By general history, is understood that which treats of the revolutions that have happened in the world, whether of great states or confederate powers, or of several nations combined together, by various and complicated interests. Thus, there may be a general history of France, or of Great Britain, a general history of the United Provinces, a general history of Europe, &c. Particular history embraces, in detail, the events of a particular people, or province, or city, or illustrious individual.

Finally, in regard to the time of which it treats,

history is distinguished into Ancient and Modern, and that of the Middle Ages. Ancient history is that of the nations who flourished from the time of the creation to the fifth century ; while the history of the middle ages has, for its object, the revolutions that took place from the fifth to the end of the fifteenth century. What is now termed modern history, is that which retraces the events of the last three centuries.

This division, which applies more particularly to the history of Europe, is founded on the great revolutions which this part of the world experienced in the fifth and fifteenth centuries. The revolution of the fifth century ended in the subversion of the Roman empire in the West, and gave birth to the principal states in modern Europe ; while that of the fifteenth century, which dates its commencement from the destruction of the Eastern empire, brought along with it the revival of literature and the fine arts, and the renovation of civil society in Europe.

Although ancient history does not enter into the plan of the following work, nevertheless it appeared necessary to give here a brief sketch of it to the reader, with the view of connecting the order of time, and the chain of the great events that have occurred from the remotest ages to the present day. We have divided it into three periods, the first of which embraces 3000, the second 1000, and the third 500 years.

The first period, which comprises thirty centuries, is almost wholly fabulous. The notices of it that have been transmitted to us are very imperfect. The order of time cannot be established on any solid foundation. Even the authenticity of the

famous Parian marbles, has been called in question as spurious; and there is no other chronology that can guide our steps through this dark labyrinth of profane history. The only literary monuments that are left us of these remote and obscure ages, are the books of Moses and the Jews. Herodotus, the earliest profane historian, wrote more than a thousand years after Moses, and about 450 before Christ. He had been preceded several centuries by Sanchoniathon the Phœnician; but the work of this latter historian is lost, and there exist only a few scattered fragments of it in Porphyry and Eusebius.

It appears, therefore, that of the 4500 years that fall within the compass of ancient history, the first thirty centuries may, without inconvenience, be retrenched. Amidst the darkness of those ages, we discover nothing but the germs of societies, governments, sciences and arts. The Egyptians, the Israelites, the Phœnicians, the Assyrians, the Babylonians, or Chaldeans, made then the most conspicuous figure among the nations of Asia and Africa.

The Egyptians and Chaldeans were the first who cultivated astronomy. Egypt was long the nursery of arts and sciences. The Phœnicians, without any other guide than the stars, boldly traversed unknown seas, and gave a vast extent of intercourse to their commerce and navigation. They founded many celebrated colonies, such as Carthage in Africa, and Malaga and Cadiz on the shores of Spain.

The history of Europe, which is utterly unknown during the first two thousand years, begins to exhibit in the third millenary, a few slight no-

tices of antient Greece. A multitude of petty states had then taken root ; most of which, as Argos, Athens and Thebes, had been founded by colonies from Egypt. The Greeks, in imitation of the Phœnicians, applied themselves to arts, navigation, and commerce. They established numerous colonies, not only on the coasts of Asia Minor, but on those of Italy and Sicily. That in Lower Italy or Calabria, was known by the name of Magna Græcia.

It was during the second period of ancient history, or in the fourth millenary, that great and powerful monarchies arose ; which contributed to the progress of arts and civilization, and the perfection of society. These are commonly reckoned five, viz. the Egyptian, the Assyrian, the Persian, the Macedonian, and the Roman ; all of which successively established themselves on the ruins of each other.

The history of the first two monarchies is enveloped in mystery and doubt. Of the ancient Egyptians, nothing now remains but their pyramids, their temples, and obelisks,—monuments which can only attest the power and grandeur of the ancient sovereigns of Egypt.

As to the Assyrian antiquities, the contradictions that we find between the narratives of Herodotus and Ctesias, cannot fail to make us reject, as fabulous, the details of the latter, respecting the magnificence of Ninus, Semiramis, and Sardanapalus, the supposed monarchs of Assyria and Babylon. Nothing certain is known of this empire, or the conquests of these kings, beyond what we find recorded in the annals of the Jews. Shal-

maneser, King of Assyria, subdued the kingdom of Samaria or Israel, about the year of the world 3270 ; and Nebuchadnezzar, one of his successors, conquered that of Judah and Jerusalem, about the year 3403.

The Persian monarchy was founded by Cyrus, who put an end to the dominion of the Assyrians and Babylonians, by taking the city of Babylon, about the year of the world 3463. The Persian empire, when at its greatest height, under Darius Hystaspes, comprehended all that part of Asia which stretches from the Indus to the Caspian Sea, and from the Euxine to the shores of the Mediterranean. Egypt in Africa, and Thrace in Europe, were subject to its laws. After a duration of nearly two centuries, it was finally destroyed by the Macedonians in the year 3672.

Greece, which was at first divided into several petty kingdoms, changed its condition towards the commencement of the fourth millenary ; when its principal cities, till then governed by kings, formed themselves into detached republics. An enthusiasm for liberty spread over all Greece, and inspired every bosom with the love of glory. Military bravery, as well as arts, and talents of all kinds, were fostered and encouraged by public games, the principal of which were the Olympic. Two cities, Athens and Lacedemon, fixed upon themselves for a time the eyes of all Greece. Solon was the legislator of the former, and Lycurgus of the latter. To these two republics all the rest succumbed, either as allies, or by right of conquest. Athens has rendered herself immortal by the victories which she gained over the Per-

sians, at the famous battles of Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea ; fought A. M. 3512, 3522, and 3523.

The ascendancy which these victories procured the Athenians over the rest of the Greek states, excited the jealousy of the Lacedemonians, and became the principal cause of the famous civil war which arose in 3572, between these two republics, and which is known by the name of the Peloponnesian war. This was followed by various other civil wars ; and these disasters contributed greatly to exhaust the Greeks, and to break that union which had been the true source of their prosperity and their glory. Philip, King of Macedon, had the address to turn these unhappy divisions to his own advantage, and soon made himself master of all Greece. The battle of Chæronea, which he gained over the Athenians about the year of the world 3664, completed the conquest of that country.

Alexander the Great, son of Philip, afterwards attacked the Persian empire, which he utterly overthrew, in consequence of the three victories which he gained over Darius Codomannus, the last of the Persian kings, at the passage of the Granicus in 3668, at Issus in 3669, and near Arbela in 3672.

The monarchy founded by Alexander fell to pieces after his death. From its wreck were formed, among others, by three of his generals, the three kingdoms of Macedon, Syria and Egypt ; all of which were conquered in succession by the Romans, A. M. 3835, 3936, and 3972. Greece itself had been reduced to a Roman province, after the famous sack of Corinth, and the destruction of the Achæan league, A. M. 3856, or 144 years before Christ.

The empire of the Greeks was succeeded by

that of the Romans, which is distinguished from all its predecessors, not more by its extent and duration, than by the wisdom with which it was administered, and the fine monuments of all kinds which it has transmitted to posterity. The greatness of this empire was not, however, the achievement of a single conqueror, but the work of ages. Its prosperity must be chiefly ascribed to the primitive constitution of the Republic, which inspired the Romans with the love of liberty, and the spirit of patriotism—which animated them to glory and perseverance, and taught them to despise dangers and death. Their religion, likewise, served as a powerful engine to restrain and direct the multitude, according to the views and designs of the government.

The earlier part of the Roman history may be divided into three periods. The first of these represents Rome under the government of kings; from the time of its foundation, about the year of the world 3249, to the expulsion of Tarquin the Proud, and the establishment of the Republic, in 3493. The second extends from the establishment of the Republic, in the year of Rome 245, to the first Punic war, in the year of the City 490, and of the world 3738. The third commences with the first Punic war, and terminates at the battle of Actium, which put an end to the Republican government, and re-established monarchy under Augustus, in the year of Rome 723.

During the first of these periods, the Romans had to sustain incessant wars with their neighbours, the petty states of Italy. They subdued the whole of that peninsula in course of the second period; and it was not till the third, that they

carried their arms beyond their own country, to conquer the greater portion of the then known world. The first two periods of the Roman history, are full of obscure and uncertain traditions. In those remote ages, the Romans paid no attention to the study of letters. Immersed entirely in the business of war, they had no other historical records than the annals of their pontiffs, which perished in the sack of Rome, at the time of its invasion by the Gauls, in the year of the City 365.

The most ancient of their historians was Fabius Pictor, who wrote his Annals in the sixth century after the foundation of Rome, or about the time of the second Punic war. These Annals, in which Fabius had consulted both tradition and foreign authors, are lost; and we possess no information on these two periods of Roman history, except what has been left us by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Titus Livius, who both wrote in the reign of Augustus, and whose narratives often resemble a romance rather than a true history.

The cultivation of letters and arts among the Romans, did not, properly speaking, commence until the third period; and after they had had intercourse with civilized nations, as the Carthaginians and Greeks. It was not until 484 years after the building of the city, that they struck their first silver coinage; and ten years afterwards, they equipped their first fleet against the Carthaginians. It is at this period, also, that truth begins to dawn upon their history, and to occupy the place of fable and tradition. Besides their native historians, Titus Livius, Florus, and Velleius Paterculus, several Greek authors, as Polybius, Plutarch, Appian of Alexandria, Dion Cassius, &c. have

furnished useful memorials on this period. The history of Polybius, especially, is a work of the highest merit. The statesman will there find lessons on politics and government, and the soldier instructions in the art of war.

A long series of foreign wars put the Romans in possession of the Isles of the Mediterranean, Spain, Northern Africa, Egypt, Gaul, Illyria, Macedonia, Greece, Thrace, and all Asia, as far as the Euphrates. The destruction of the powerful republic of Carthage was the grand cast of the die that decided the empire of the world in favour of the Romans.

Carthage was a colony which the ancient Phenicians had founded on the coast of Africa, near the modern city of Tunis, in the year of the world 3119, and 130 before the founding of Rome. In imitation of their mother country, the Carthaginians rendered themselves famous by their merchandise and their marine. The extent to which they carried their commerce, and the force necessary for its protection, rendered their arms everywhere victorious. They gradually extended their conquests along the shores of Africa, in Spain, and the islands of the Mediterranean.

The attempts which they had made to get possession of Sicily, was the occasion of embroiling them in a war with the Romans. For nearly two hundred years, Rome and Carthage disputed between them the empire of the world; and it was not until these two mighty rivals had, more than once, made each other tremble for their independence, that the Carthaginians yielded to the yoke of the conqueror. Their capital, after a siege which lasted nearly three years, was completely

laid in ruins by the famous Scipio Æmilianus, the scholar of Polybius. No monument of the Carthaginians now remains to point out the ancient splendour of that republic. Their national archives, and all the literary treasures they contained, perished with the city, or were destroyed by the Romans. The destruction of Carthage happened in the year of Rome 608, and of the world 3856, the same year that witnessed the sack of Corinth.

The fall of Carthage, and more especially the conquest of Greece, Egypt, and the Asiatic kingdoms, occasioned a wonderful revolution in the manners and government of the Romans. The riches of the East, the arts and institutions of the vanquished nations, brought them acquainted with luxuries they had never known, which soon proved the fatal harbingers of vice. Their patriotism and love of liberty insensibly declined, and became extinct: Powerful and ambitious citizens fomented insurrections and civil wars, which ended in the subversion of the republican government, and the establishment of monarchy.

Two triumvirates appeared in succession. The first consisted of Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus, and was dissolved in consequence of the civil war that arose among the triumvirs. Cæsar, having conquered Pompey at the battle of Pharsalia, in the year of Rome 706, became master of the empire, under the title of perpetual dictator. This new elevation of fortune he did not long enjoy; he was assassinated in the senate by a band of conspirators, at the head of whom was Brutus, in the year of Rome 710, and 42 before the birth of Christ.

A second triumvirate was formed between Mark

Antony, Cæsar Octavianus, and Lepidus. Many thousands of illustrious Romans, and among others Cicero, were at this time proscribed, and put to death by order of the triumvirs. Jealousy having at length disunited these new tyrants, Octavianus stript Lepidus of his power, and defeated Mark Antony in the famous naval battle which took place near the promontory of Actium, in the year of Rome 723. Antony having been assassinated in Egypt, immediately after his defeat, Cæsar Octavianus became sole master of the empire, which he afterwards ruled with sovereign authority under the name of Augustus.

At this time the Roman empire comprehended the finest countries of Europe and Asia; with Egypt and all the northern part of Africa. It was bounded on the west by the Rhine and the Danube, and on the east by the Euphrates. The successors of Augustus added the greater part of Britain to the empire. Trajan carried his victorious arms beyond the Danube; he conquered the Dacians, who inhabited those countries known at present under the name of Hungary, Transylvania, Moldavia, Walachia, and Bessarabia. In the East this prince extended the limits of the empire beyond the Euphrates, having subdued Mesopotamia, Assyria, Armenia, Colchis and Iberia, (or Georgia); but the conquests of Trajan were abandoned by his successors, and the empire again shrunk within the bounds prescribed by Augustus.

This empire, which extended from north to south nearly six hundred leagues, and more than a thousand from east to west, viz. from the 24° to the 56° of latitude, comprised a total of 180,000 square leagues. The population, during its most

flourishing state, may be estimated at about 120,000,000,—a population which equals that of modern Europe, with the exception of Great Britain, Denmark, Sweden, Russia and Turkey.

The government which had been introduced, was an absolute monarchy, only clothed with the forms of the ancient republic. Under the popular titles of consul, tribune of the people, general, grand pontiff, censor, &c. the prince united in himself all the various attributes of supreme power. The senate indeed enjoyed extensive prerogatives; the legislative power, which had been reserved at first for the people, was afterwards transferred to this body; but as the military were wholly subordinate to the prince, and as he had also at his command a numerous guard, it is easy to perceive that the authority of the senate was but precarious, and by no means a counterpoise to that of the prince.

A government so constructed could not insure the welfare and happiness of the people, except under princes as humane as Titus, as just and enlightened as Trajan and the Antonines; or so long as the forms introduced by Augustus should be respected. It could not fail to degenerate into arbitrary power, under tyrants such as Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, and Domitian; and the senate must then have been but a servile instrument in the hands of the prince, employed by him to facilitate the means of satiating his passions and his tyranny.

The maxims of absolute power soon became the fashionable and favourite doctrine. Civilians began to teach publicly, that all the authority of the

senate and the people was transferred to the prince ; that he was superior to the laws ; that his power extended to the lives and fortunes of the citizens ; and that he might dispose of the state as his own patrimony. These encroachments of despotism, joined to the instability of the imperial throne, the decay of military discipline, the unbridled license of the troops, the employing whole corps of barbarians in their wars, must all be reckoned among the number of causes that hastened the downfall of the Roman empire.

Constantine the Great, was the first of the emperors that embraced Christianity, and made it the established religion of the state in 324. He quitted the city of Rome, the ancient residence of the Cæsars, and fixed his capital at Byzantium, in 330, which took from him the name of Constantinople. Anxious to provide for the security of his new capital, he stationed the flower of his legions in the East, dismantled the frontiers on the Rhine and the Danube, and dispersed into the provinces and towns, the troops who had heretofore encamped on the borders of these great rivers. In this way he secured the peace and tranquillity of the interior, and infused, for a time, a new vigour into the government ; but he committed a great mistake in giving the first example of making a formal division of the state between his sons, without regard to the principle of unity and indivisibility which his predecessors had held sacred. It is true, this separation was not of long continuance ; but it was renewed afterwards by Theodosius the Great, who finally divided the empire between his two sons in the year 395 ; Arcadius had the eastern, and Honorius the western part of

the empire. This latter comprehended Italy, Gaul, Britain, Spain, Northern Africa, Rhetia, Vindelicia, Noricum, Pannonia, and Illyria. It was during the reign of Honorius, and under the administration of his minister Stilico, that the memorable invasion of the barbarians happened, which was followed shortly after, by the destruction of the Western Empire.

It is with this great event, which gave birth to a variety of new states and kingdoms, that the following History of the Revolutions of Europe commences. It is divided into nine sections or periods of time, according to the successive changes which the political system of Europe experienced from the fifth to the nineteenth century.

In the *first*, which extends to the year 800, the barbarians, who invaded the Western Empire, formed new states in Spain, Gaul, and Italy; and produced a complete revolution in the governments, laws, manners, letters, and arts of Europe. It was during this period that the Franks gained the ascendancy over the other European nations; that the Popes laid the groundwork of their secular power; that Mahomet founded a new religion in Asia, and an empire which extended through Africa into Spain.

In the *second* period, which extends from 800 to 962, a vast empire was erected, and again dismembered, after enjoying a short-lived splendour. From its wreck were formed new kingdoms, which have served as the basis for several states of modern times. Others were established by the Normans, Russians, and Hungarians.

In the *third* period, which terminates with the year 1072, Germany became the preponderating

power, and began to decline, through the abuse of the feudal system. The House of Capet mounted the throne of France ; and the Normans achieved the conquest of England. The Northern nations, converted to Christianity, began to make some figure in history : the monarchy of Russia became great and powerful ; while the Greek empire, and that of the Romans, fell into decay.

During the *fourth* period, which ends with the year 1300, the Roman Pontiffs acquired an immense sway. This is also the epoch of the Crusades, which had a powerful influence on the social and political state of the European nations : The darkness of the middle ages began gradually to disappear ; the establishment of communities, and the enfranchisement of the serfs, gave birth to new ideas of liberty. The Roman jurisprudence was restored from the neglect and oblivion into which it had fallen, and taught in the universities : Italy was covered with a multitude of republics, and the kingdom of the two Sicilies, and of Portugal were founded : The inquisition was established in France, and Magna Charta in England : The Moguls in the east raised, by their conquests, a powerful and extensive empire.

The *fifth* period, which ends at the taking of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, witnessed the decline of the Pontifical jurisdiction : Learning and science made some progress, and various important discoveries prepared the way for still greater improvements : Commerce began to flourish, and extend its intercourse more widely ; The European states assumed their present form ; while the Turks, an Asiatic race, established their dominion in Europe.

The *sixth* period, from 1453 to 1648, is the epoch of the revival of the belles lettres, and the fine arts ; and of the discovery of America : It is also that of the Reformation of religion accomplished in Germany ; the influence of which has extended over all the countries in the world. It was likewise during this period that Europe was desolated by religious wars, which eventually must have plunged it again into a state of barbarism. The peace of Westphalia became the basis of the political system of Europe.

In the *seventh* period, from 1648 to 1713, this federal system was turned against France, whose power threatened to overturn the political balance of Europe. The peace of Utrecht set bounds to the ambition of its aspiring monarchs, while that of Oliva adjusted the contending claims of the North.

The European states, delivered from the terror of universal dominion, began to think the establishment of it an impossibility ; and losing conceit of the system of political equipoise, they substituted in its place maxims of injustice and violence.

The *eighth* period, which comes down to 1789, is an epoch of weakness and corruption, during which the doctrines of a libertine and impious philosophy led the way to the downfall of thrones and the subversion of social order.

[The consequences of this new philosophy bring us to the *ninth* period, during which, Europe was almost entirely revolutionized. The present history terminates with the year 1815, which forms a natural division in this revolutionary epoch ; the final results of which can be known only to posterity.]

VIEW

OF THE

REVOLUTIONS OF EUROPE.

CHAPTER II.

PERIOD I.

FROM THE INVASION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE
IN THE WEST BY THE BARBARIANS, TO THE
TIME OF CHARLEMAGNE. A. D. 406—800.

THE Roman empire had, for many years, been gradually tending towards its downfall. Its energies were exhausted; and it required no great efforts to lay prostrate that gigantic power which had already lost its strength and activity. The vices of the government, the relaxation of discipline, the animosities of faction, and the miseries of the people, all announced the approaching ruin of the empire. Divided by mutual jealousies, enervated by luxury, and oppressed by despotism, the Romans were in no condition to withstand the numerous

swarms of barbarians from the North, who, unacquainted with luxury, and despising danger and death, had learned to conquer in the ranks of the Imperial armies.

Several of the Emperors, guided by a short-sighted policy, had received into their pay entire battalions of foreigners; and to recompense their services, had assigned them settlements in the frontier provinces of the empire. Thus the Franks obtained, by way of compensation, territories in Belgic Gaul; while similar grants were made in Pannonia and in Thrace, to the Vandals, Alans, Goths, and other barbarians. This liberality of the Romans, which was a true mark of weakness, together with the vast numbers of these troops which they employed in their wars, at length accustomed the barbarians to regard the empire as their prey. Towards the close of the year 406, the Vandals, the Suevi, and the Alans, sounded the tocsin of that famous invasion which accelerated the downfall of the Western empire. The example of these nations was soon followed by the Visigoths, the Burgundians, the Alemanns, the Franks, the Huns, the Angles, the Saxons, the Heruls, the Ostrogoths, and the Lombards. All these nations, with the exception of the Huns, were of German origin.

THE VANDALS, it appears, were originally settled in that part of northern Germany which lies between the Elbe and the Vistula. They formed a branch of the ancient Suevi, as did also the Burgundians and the Lombards. After the third century, and under the reign of the Emperor Probus, we find them, with the Burgundians, engaged in warring against the Romans on the Rhine. In the

time of Aurelian, (272) they established themselves in the Western part of Dacia, that is, in Transylvania, and a part of modern Hungary. Oppressed in these districts by the Goths, they obtained from Constantine the Great, settlements in Pannonia, on condition of rendering military service to the Romans. They remained in Pannonia, until the commencement of the fifth century, when they set out on their emigration towards Gaul. It was on this occasion that they associated themselves with the Alans, a people originally from Mount Caucasus, and ancient Scythia; a branch of which, settled in Sarmatia near the source of the Borysthenes or Dnieper, had advanced as far as the Danube, and there made a formidable stand against the Romans. In their passage through Germany, the Vandals and the Alans joined a body of the Suevi, who also inhabited the banks of the Danube, eastward of the powerful nation of the Alemanns. United in this rude confederacy, they entered Gaul, plundering and destroying wherever they went. Mayence, Worms, Spire, Strasbourg, and many flourishing cities of Gaul, were pillaged by these barbarians.

THE GOTHs,² the most powerful of these destructive nations, began to rise into notice in the third century, after the time of the Emperor Caracalla. They then inhabited the country between the Vistula, the Dniester, the Borysthenes, and the Tanais or Don. It is not certain whether they were originally from these regions, or whether, in more remote times, they inhabited Scandinavia, from which, according to Jornandes, a Gothic author, they emigrated at an early period. It is however certain, that they were of German

extraction; and that, in the third and fourth centuries, they made the Cæsars tremble on their thrones. The Emperor Aurelian was compelled (274) to abandon the province of Dacia to their dominion.

This nation, the first of the German tribes that embraced the Christian religion,³ was divided, in their ancient settlements beyond the Danube, into two principal branches. They who inhabited the districts towards the east and the Euxine Sea, between the Dniester, the Borysthenes and the Tanais, were called Ostrogoths; the Visigoths were the branch which extended westward, and occupied ancient Dacia, and the regions situated between the Dniester, the Danube and the Vistula. Attacked in these vast countries by the Huns, (375) some were subjugated, and others compelled to abandon their habitations. A part of the Visigoths then fixed their abode in Thrace, in Mæsia, and the frontiers of Dacia, with consent of the emperors; who granted also to the Ostrogoths settlements in Pannonia. At length the Visigoths, after having twice ravaged Italy, sacked and plundered Rome, ended their conquests by establishing themselves in Gaul and in Spain. One branch of these Goths appears to have been the Thuringians, whom we find in the fifth century established in the heart of Germany, where they erected a very powerful kingdom.

THE FRANKS were probably a confederacy which the German tribes, situated between the Rhine, the Maine, the Weser, and the Elbe, had formed among themselves, in order to maintain their liberty and independence against the Romans. Tacitus, who wrote about the commencement of the

second century, did not know them under this new name, which occurs for the first time in the historians of the third century. Among the German tribes who composed this association, we find the Chauci, the Sicambri, the Chamavi, the Cherusci, the Bructeri, the Catti, the Ampsivarii, the Ripuarii, the Salii, &c.⁴ These tribes, though combined for the purposes of common defence, under the general name of Franks, preserved, nevertheless, each their laws and form of government, as well as their particular chiefs, and the names of their aboriginal tribes. In the fourth, and towards the beginning of the fifth century, the whole country lying within the Rhine, the Weser, the Maine, and the Elbe, was called *Francia*.

Another confederation of the German tribes, was that of the ALEMANNNS; unknown also to Tacitus. It took its origin about the commencement of the third century. Their territories extended between the Danube, the Rhine, the Necker, the Main, and the Lahn. On the east, in a part of Franconia and modern Suabia, they had for their neighbours and allies the SUEVI, who, after having long formed a distinct nation, were at length blended with the Alemanns, and gave their country the name of Suabia. The Alemanns rendered themselves formidable to the Romans, by their frequent inroads into Gaul and Italy, in the third and fourth centuries.

THE SAXONS, unknown also to Tacitus, began to make a figure in history about the second century, when we find them settled beyond the Elbe, in modern Holstein, having for their neighbours the ANGLES, or English, inhabiting Sleswick Pro-

per. These nations were early distinguished as pirates and freebooters ; and, while the Franks and the Alemanns spread themselves over the interior of Gaul, the Saxons infested the coasts, and even extended their incursions into Britain. The Franks having penetrated into Gaul with their main forces, the Saxons passed the Elbe, and in course of time, occupied, or united in alliance with them, the greater part of ancient France, which took from them the name of Saxony. There they subdivided themselves into three principal branches ; the *Ostphalians* to the east, the *Westphalians* to the west, and the *Angrians* or *Angri-varians*, whose territories lay between the other two, along the Weser, and as far as the confines of Hesse.

THE HUNS, the most fierce and sanguinary of all the nations which overran the Roman Empire in the fifth century, came from the remote districts of northern Asia, which were altogether unknown to the ancient Greeks and Romans. From the descriptions which the historians of the fifth and sixth centuries have given us of them, we are led to believe, that they were Kalmucks or Monguls originally. The fame of their arms had begun to spread over Europe so early as the year 375 of the Christian era. Having subdued the Alans, and crossed the Tanais, they subverted the powerful monarchy of the Goths, and gave the first impulse to the great revolution of the fifth century, which changed the face of all Europe. The Eastern empire first felt the fury of these barbarians, who carried fire and sword wherever they went, rendered the Emperors their tributaries, and

then precipitated themselves on the West under the conduct of the famous Attila.⁵

Several of the nations we have now enumerated, divided among themselves the territories of Gaul. This province, one of the richest and most important in the Western empire, was repeatedly overrun and devastated by the barbarous hordes of the fifth century. The Visigoths were the first that formed settlements in it. On their arrival under the command of King Atulf or Adolphus, (412), they took possession of the whole country lying within the Loire, the Rhine, the Durance, the Mediterranean, and the Alps. Toulouse became their capital, and the residence of their kings.

THE BURGUNDIANS, a people, it would appear, originally from the countries situated between the Oder and the Vistula, followed nearly in the track of the Visigoths; as we find them, about the year 413, established on the Upper Rhine and in Switzerland. After the dissolution of the empire, they succeeded in establishing themselves in those parts of Gaul, known by the names of the Sequanois, Lyonnois, Viennois and Narbonnois, viz. in those districts which formed, in course of time, the two Burgundies, the provinces of Lyonnois, Dauphiny and Provence on this side of the Durance, Savoy, the Pays de Vaud, the Valais and Switzerland.⁶ These countries then assumed the name of the Kingdom of the Burgundians.

THE ALEMANNI and the SUEVI became flourishing nations on the banks of the Upper Rhine and the Danube. They invaded those countries in Gaul, or the *Germania Prima* of the Romans, known since under the names of Alsace, the Pa-

latinate, Mayence, &c.; and extended their conquests also over a considerable part of Rhetia and Vindelicia.

At length the Franks, having been repulsed in different rencounters by the Romans, again passed the Rhine (430), under the conduct of Clodion their chief; made themselves masters of the greater part of Belgic Gaul, took possession of Tournay, Cambray and Amiens; and thus laid the foundation of the new kingdom of France in Gaul. The Romans, however, still maintained their authority in the interior of that province, and the brave *Ætius* their general made head against all those hordes of barbarians who disputed with him the dominion of Gaul.

It was at this crisis that the HUNS made their appearance on the theatre of war. The fierce *Attila*, a man of great military talents, after having overthrown various states, conquered Pannonia, and different provinces of the Eastern empire on the right bank of the Danube, undertook his famous expedition into Gaul. Marching along the Danube from Pannonia, at the head of an innumerable army, ⁷ he passed the Rhine near the Lake of Constance, pillaged and ravaged several places, and spread the terror of his arms over all Gaul. The Franks and the Visigoths united their forces with those of the Roman General, to arrest the progress of the barbarian. A bloody and obstinate encounter took place (451), on the plains of Chalons-sur-Marne, or Mery-sur-Seine, according to others. *Thierry*, King of the Visigoths, and more than a hundred and sixty thousand men, perished on the field of battle. Night separated the combatants; and *Attila*, who found his troops too much exhausted to renew the combat, resolved to

retreat. The following year he made a descent on Italy, and committed great devastations. This proved his last expedition; for he died suddenly on his return, and the monarchy of the Huns expired with him.

The defeat of the Huns did not reestablish the shattered and ruinous affairs of the Romans in Gaul. The Salian Franks,⁸ under their kings, Meroveus and Childeric I., the successors of Clodion, extended their conquests more and more; till at length Clovis, son of Childeric I., put an end to the dominion of the Romans in that country, by the victory which he gained in 486, at Soissons, over Syagrius, the last of the Roman generals, who died of a broken heart in consequence of this defeat. The Alemanns afterwards having disputed with him the empire of the Gauls, he routed them completely (496), at the famous battle of Tolbiac or Zulpich;⁹ seized their estates, and soon after embraced Christianity. Emboldened by his new creed, and backed by the orthodox bishops, he attacked the Visigoths, who were of the heretical sect of Arius, defeated and killed their king, Alaric II., in the plains of Vouglé, near Poitiers, (507), and stript them of all their possessions between the Loire and the Pyrenees.¹⁰ Gaul became thus, by degrees, the undisputed possession of the Franks. The descendants of Clovis added to their conquests the kingdom of the Burgundians (534), which they totally overthrew.

These same princes increased their possessions in the interior of Germany, by the destruction of the powerful kingdom of the Thuringians (531), comprising those vast countries between the Werra, the Aller, the Elbe, the Saal, the Mulda, and the

Danube; and which are now known under the names of Saxony, Thuringia, Franconia, the Upper Palatinate, ¹¹ &c. This kingdom they divided with their allies the Saxons, who obtained the northern part of it, situated between the Unstrut and the Saal.

While the Visigoths, the Burgundians, the Franks and the Alemanns, were disputing with each other the conquest of Gaul, the Vandals, the Suevi, and the Alans, turned their ambitious views towards Spain. After having settled some years in Gaul, these tribes passed the Pyrenees (409), to establish themselves in the most fertile regions of Spain. The Vandals seized Bœtica, and a part of Gallicia; the Suevi seized the rest of Gallicia; while the Alans took possession of Lusitania, and the province of Carthagera. The Alans afterwards submitted to the sway of Gonderic, King of the Vandals (420), while the Suevi preserved their native princes, who reigned in Gallicia and Lusitania; this latter province having been abandoned by the Vandals, (427) when they passed into Africa.

Meanwhile new conquerors began to make their appearance in Spain. The Visigoths, pressed by the Romans in Gaul, took the resolution of carrying their arms beyond the Pyrenees. Under the conduct of their King, Adolphus, they made themselves masters of the city of Barcelona (in 415) Euric, one of the successors of this prince, took from the Romans (472) all that yet remained of their possessions in Spain; and Leovigild, another of their kings, completed the conquest of all that country (584), by reducing the kingdom of the Suevi. The monarchy of the Visigoths, which in

its flourishing state comprised, besides the continent of Spain, Septimania or Languedoc in Gaul, and Mauritania Tingitana in Africa, maintained its existence until the commencement of the eighth century ; when, as we shall afterwards see, it was finally overthrown by the Arabs.

Northern Africa, one of the finest possessions of the Romans, was wrested from them by the Vandals. Count Boniface, who had the government of that country, having been falsely accused at the court of the Emperor Valentinian III., and believing himself ruined in the esteem of that prince, invited the Vandals over to Africa ; proposing to them the surrender of the provinces intrusted to his command. Genseric was at that time king of the Vandals. The preponderance which the Visigoths had acquired in Spain, induced that prince to accept the offer of the Roman General ; he embarked at the port of Andalusia, (427), and passed with the Vandals and the Alans into Africa. Meantime, Boniface having made up matters amicably with the Imperial court, wished to retract the engagements which he had made with the Vandals. Genseric nevertheless persisted in his enterprise. He carried on a long and obstinate war with the Romans ; the result of which turned to the advantage of the barbarians. Genseric conquered in succession all that part of Africa pertaining to the Western empire, from the Straits of Cadiz as far as Cyrenaica, which was dependent on the empire of the East. He subdued likewise the Balearic Isles, with Sardinia, Corsica and a part of Sicily.

The writers of that age who speak of this in-

vasion, agree in painting, in the most lively colours, the horrors with which it was accompanied. It appears that Genseric, whose whole subjects, including old men and slaves, did not exceed eighty thousand persons, being resolved to maintain his authority by terror, caused, for this purpose, a general massacre to be made of the ancient inhabitants of Africa. To these political severities were added others on the score of religion; being devoted with all his subjects to the Arian heresy, he as well as his successors became the constant and implacable persecutors of the orthodox Christians.

This prince signalized himself by his maritime exploits, and by the piracies which he committed on the coasts of Italy and the whole Roman empire. Encouraged, as is supposed, by the Empress Eudoxia, who wished to avenge the death of her husband Valentinian III., he undertook an expedition into Italy (455), in which he made himself master of Rome. This city was pillaged during fifteen days by the Vandals, spoiled of all its riches and its finest monuments. Innumerable statues, ornaments of temples, and the gilded cupola of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, were removed in order to be transported to Africa; together with many thousands of illustrious captives. A vessel loaded with the most precious monuments of Rome, perished in the passage.

The dominion of the Vandals in Africa lasted about a hundred years. Their kingdom was destroyed by the Emperor Justinian, who reunited Africa to the empire of the East. Gilimer, the last king of the Vandals, was conquered by Belisarius (534), and conducted by him in triumph to Constantinople.

BRITAIN, inaccessible by its situation to most of the invaders that overran the Western empire, was infested, in the fifth century, by the northern inhabitants of that island,—the free Britons; known by the name of Caledonians or Picts, and Scots. The Romans having withdrawn their legions from the island (446), to employ them in Gaul, the Britons, abandoned to their own strength, thought proper to elect a king of their own nation, named Vortigern; but finding themselves still too weak to resist the incursions of the Picts and Scots, who, breaking over the wall of Severus, pillaged and laid waste the Roman province, they took the imprudent resolution of calling in to their succour the Angles, Saxons, and Jutlanders, who were already distinguished for their maritime incursions. A body of these Anglo-Saxons arrived in Britain (450) in the first year of the reign of the Emperor Marcian, under the command of Hengist and Horsa. From being friends and allies, they soon became enemies of the Britons; and ended by establishing their own dominion in the island. The native islanders, after a protracted struggle, were driven into the province of Wales, where they succeeded in maintaining their independence against their new conquerors. A number of these fugitive Britons, to escape from the yoke of the invaders, took refuge in Gaul. There they were received by the Franks into Armorica and part of Lyonnois, to which they gave the name of Brittany.

The Anglo-Saxons founded successively seven petty kingdoms in Britain, viz. Kent, Sussex, Wessex, Essex, Northumberland, East Anglia, and Mercia. Each of these kingdoms had seve-

rally their own kings ; but they were all united in a political association, known by the name of the Heptarchy. One of the seven kings was the common chief of the confederacy ; and there was a general convention of the whole, called *wittena-gemot*, or the assembly of the wise men. Each kingdom was likewise governed by its own laws, and had its separate assemblies, whose power limited the royal authority. This federal system continued till the ninth century, when Egbert the Great succeeded in abolishing the Heptarchy (827), and raised himself to be King over all England.

In the midst of this general overthrow, there were still to be seen in Italy the phantoms of the Roman emperors, feebly supporting a dignity which had long since lost its splendour. This fine country had been desolated by the Visigoths, the Huns, and the Vandals, in succession, without becoming the fixed residence of any one of these nations. The conquest of that ancient seat of the first empire in the world, was reserved for the Heruls and the Rugians. For a long time, these German nations, who are generally supposed to have emigrated from the coasts of the Baltic Sea, had been approaching towards the Danube. They served as auxiliaries to the Romans in Italy, after the example of various other tribes of their countrymen. Being resolved to usurp the dominion of that country, they chose for their king Odoacer, under whose conduct they seized Ravenna and Rome, dethroned Romulus Momyllus Augustulus, the last of the Roman Emperors (476), and put an entire end to the empire of the West.

The Heruls did not enjoy these conquests more than seventeen years, when they were deprived of

them in their turn by the Ostrogoths. This nation then occupied those extensive countries on the right bank of the Danube, in Pannonia, Illyria, and Thrace, within the limits of the Eastern empire. They had rendered themselves formidable to the Romans in that quarter, by their frequent incursions into the very heart of the empire. The Emperor Zeno, in order to withdraw these dangerous neighbours from his frontiers, encouraged their King Theodoric, as is alleged, to undertake the conquest of Italy from the Heruls. This prince immediately penetrated into the country: he defeated the Heruls in several actions; and at length forced Odoacer to shut himself up in the city of Ravenna (489), where, after a siege of three years, he fell into the hands of the conqueror, who deprived him at once of his throne and his life.

Theodoric deserves not to be confounded with the other barbarous kings of the fifth century. Educated at the court of Constantinople, where he passed the years of his youth, he had learned to establish his authority by the equity of his laws, and the wisdom of his administrations. He ruled an empire which, besides Italy, embraced a great part of Pannonia, Rhetia, Noricum, and Illyria.

This monarchy, formidable as it was, did not exist beyond the space of sixty years: after a sanguinary warfare of eighteen years, it was totally subverted by the Greeks. The Emperor Justinian employed his generals, Belisarius^{1 2} and Narses, in recovering Italy and Sicily from the hands of the Goths. This nation defended their possessions with determined obstinacy. Encouraged by Totila, one of their last kings, they maintained a

protracted struggle against the Greeks, and with considerable success. It was during this war that the city of Rome was pillaged afresh, and at length (517), dismantled by the Goths. Totila sustained a complete defeat at the foot of the Apennines in Umbria (552), and died of the wounds which he had received in the action. His successor Teias was by no means so fortunate in military affairs. In a bloody battle which he fought with Narses, in Campania (553), he was vanquished and slain. His dominions passed into the hands of the Greeks, with the exception of that part of Rhetia and Noricum which the Alemanns occupied, and which, during the war between the Greeks and the Goths, had become the possession of the Franks. ^{1 3}

A new revolution happened in Italy, (568) by the invasion of the Lombards. This people, who originally inhabited the northern part of Germany on the Elbe, and formed a branch of the great nation of the Suevi, had at length fixed themselves in Pannonia (527), after several times changing their abode. They then joined with the Avars, an Asiatic people, against the Gepidæ, who possessed a formidable dominion in ancient Dacia, on the left bank of the Danube. This state was soon overturned by the combined forces of the two nations, and the whole territories of the Gepidæ passed (565) under the dominion of the Avars. The Lombards also abandoned to them their possessions in Pannonia, and went in quest of new settlements into Italy. It was in the spring of 568 that they began their route, under the conduct of their King Alboin, who, without coming to regular combat with the Greeks, took from them, in succession,

a great number of cities and provinces. Pavia, which the Goths had fortified with care, was the only town that opposed him with vigorous resistance; and it did not surrender till after a siege of three years, in 572. The Lombard kings made this town the capital of their new dominions, which, besides Upper Italy, known more especially by the name of Lombardy, comprehended also a considerable part of the middle and lower districts, which the Lombards gradually wrested from the Greeks.

The revolution, of which we have just now given a summary view, changed the face of all Europe; but it had a more particular influence on the fate of ancient Germany. The Germanic tribes, whose former boundaries were the Rhine and the Danube, now extended their territories beyond these rivers. The primitive names of those nations, recorded by Tacitus, fell into oblivion, and were replaced by those of five or six grand confederations, viz. the Franks, Saxons, Frisians, Alemanns, Suabians, and Bavarians, ¹⁴ which embraced all the regions afterwards comprehended under the name of Germany.

The Alemanns, and their neighbours the Suabians, occupied, along with the Bavarians, the greater part of what is called Upper Germany, on both sides of the Danube as far as the Alps. The Franks, masters of a powerful monarchy in Gaul, preserved, under their immediate dominion beyond the Rhine, a part of ancient France, together with the territories of which they had deprived the Alemanns ¹⁵ and the Thuringians. In short, in all Lower Germany, no other names were to be found than those of the Thuringians, Saxons, and Frisians; and

as to the eastern part, situated beyond the Saal and the Elbe, as it had been deserted of inhabitants by the frequent emigrations of the German tribes, and by the total destruction of the kingdom of the Thuringians, it was seized in turn by the Slavi, or Slavonians, a race distinguished from the Germans by their language and their manners.

This nation, different colonies of which still occupy a great part of Europe, did not begin to figure in history until the fourth century of the Christian era. Jornandes, a Gothic writer of the sixth century, is the first author who mentions them. He calls them *Slavi*, or *Slavini*; and distinguishes them into three principal branches, the Venedi, the Slavi, and the Antes, whose numerous tribes occupied the vast countries on the north of the Euxine Sea, between the Vistula, the Niester, the Nieper, &c. It was after the commencement of the sixth century that these nations emigrated from their ancient habitations, and spread themselves over the east and south of Europe. On the one side, they extended their colonies as far as the Elbe and the Saal; on the other, they crossed the Danube, and penetrated into Noricum, Pannonia, and Illyria; occupying all those countries known at this day under the names of Hungary, Sclavonia, Servia, Bosnia, Croatia, Dalmatia, Carniola, Carinthia, Stiria, and the march of the Venedi. The history of the sixth century, presents nothing more memorable than the bloody wars which the emperors of the East had to maintain against the Slavians of the Danube.

Those colonies of them who first distinguished themselves on the Elbe, the Havel, the Oder, and in the countries situated to the north of the

Danube, were the Czechs, or Slavi of Bohemia; the Sorabians inhabiting both sides of the Elbe, between the Saal and the Oder, in the countries now known under the names of Misnia, Saxony, Anhalt and Lower Lusace; the Wilzians, or Welatabes, and the Abotrites, spread over Brandenburg, Pomerania, and Mecklenburg proper; and, lastly, the Moravi, or Moravians, settled in Moravia, and in a part of modern Hungary. We find, in the seventh century, a chief named Samo, who ruled over many of these nations. He fought successfully against the armies of King Dagobert. It is supposed that this man was a Frank merchant, whom several of these Slavian tribes had elected as their chief.

There is one thing which, at this period, ought above all to fix our attention, and that is the influence which the revolution of the fifth century had on the governments, laws, manners, sciences, and arts of Europe. The German tribes, in establishing themselves in the provinces of the Western empire, introduced along with them the political institutions by which they had been governed in their native country. The governments of ancient Germany were a kind of military democracies, under generals or chiefs, with the prerogatives of kings. All matters of importance were decided in their general assemblies, composed of freemen, having the privilege of carrying arms, and going to war.¹⁶ The succession to the throne was not hereditary; and though it became so in fact in most of the new German states, still, on the accession of their princes, they were attentive to preserve the ancient forms, which evinced the primi-

tive right of election that the nation had reserved to itself.

The political division into cantons (*gaw*), long used in ancient Germany, was introduced into all the new conquests of the German tribes, to facilitate the administration of justice. At the head of every canton was a justiciary officer, called *Grav*, in Latin *Comes*, who held his court in the open air, assisted by a certain number of assessors or sheriffs. This new division caused a total change in the geography of Europe. The ancient names of the countries were every where replaced by new ones ; and the alterations which the nomenclature of these divisions underwent in course of time, created no small embarrassment in the study of the history and geography of the middle ages.

Among the freemen who composed the armies of the German nations, we find the *grandees* and nobles, who were distinguished by the number of men-at-arms, or freemen, whom they carried in their train.¹⁷ They all followed the king, or common chief, of the expedition, not as mercenaries or regular soldiers, but as volunteers who had come, of their own accord, to accompany him. The booty and the conquests which they made in war, they regarded as a common property, to which they had all an equal right. The kings, chiefs, and *grandees*, in the division of their territories, received larger portions than the other military and freemen, on account of the greater efforts they had made, and the greater number of warriors who had followed them to the field. These lands were given them as property in every respect free ; and although an obligation was implied of their con-

curing in defence of the common cause; yet it was rather a sort of consequence of the territorial grant, and not imposed upon them as a clause, or essential condition of the tenure.

It is therefore wrong to regard this division of lands as having given rise to fiefs. War was the favourite occupation, the only honourable rank, and the inalienable prerogative of a German. They were soldiers not of necessity or constraint, but of their own free will, and because they despised every other employment, and every other mode of life. Despotism was, therefore, never to be apprehended in a government like this, where the great body of the nation were in arms, sat in their general assemblies, and marched to the field of war. Their kings, however, soon invented an expedient calculated to shackle the national liberty, and to augment their own influence in the public assemblies, by the number of retainers which they found means to support. This expedient, founded on the primitive manners of the Germans, was the institution of fiefs.

It was long a custom among the ancient Germans, that their chiefs should have, in peace as well as in war, a numerous suite of the bravest youths attached to their person. Besides provisions, they supplied them with horses and arms, and shared with them the spoil which they took in war. This practice subsisted even after the Germans had established themselves in the provinces of the Western Empire. The kings, and, after their example, the nobles, continued to entertain a vast number of companions and followers; and the better to secure their allegiance, they granted them, instead of horses and arms, the enjoy-

ment of certain portions of land, which they dismembered from their own territories.

These grants, known at first by the name of *benefices*, and afterwards of *fiefs*, subjected those who received them to personal services, and allegiance to the superiors of whom they held them. As they were bestowed on the individual possessor, and on the express condition of personal services, it is obvious that originally fiefs or benefices were not hereditary; and that they returned to the superior, when the reason for which they had been given no longer existed.

The laws and jurisprudence of the Romans were in full practice through all the provinces of the Western Empire, when the German nations established themselves there. Far from superseding or abolishing them, the invaders permitted the ancient inhabitants, and such of their new subjects as desired it, to live conformably to these laws, and to retain them in their courts of justice. Nevertheless, without adopting this system of jurisprudence, which accorded neither with the rudeness of their manners, nor the imperfection of their ideas, they took great care, after their settlement in the Roman provinces, to have their ancient customs, to which they were so peculiarly attached, digested and reduced to writing.

The Codes of the Salian and Ripuarian Franks, those of the Visigoths, the Burgundians, the Bavarians, the Anglo-Saxons, the Frisians, the Allemanns, and the Lombards, were collected into one body, and liberty given to every citizen to be governed according to that code of laws which he himself might choose. All these laws wore the impress of the military spirit of the Germans, as

well as of their attachment to that personal liberty and independence, which is the true characteristic of human nature in its primitive state. According to these laws, every person was judged by his peers ; and the right of vengeance was reserved to the individuals, or the whole family, of those who had received injuries. Feuds, which thus became hereditary, were not however irreconcilable. Compromise was allowed for all private delinquencies, which could be expiated, by paying to the injured party a specified sum, or a certain number of cattle. Murder itself might be expiated in this manner ; and every part of the body had a tax or equivalent, which was more or less severe, according to the different rank or condition of the offenders.

Every freeman was exempt from corporal punishment ; and in doubtful cases, the law obliged the judges to refer the parties to single combat, enjoining them to decide their quarrel sword in hand. Hence, we have the origin of the *Judgments of God*, as well as of *Challenges* and *Duels*.¹⁸ These customs of the German nations, and their singular resolution in persisting in them, could not but interrupt the good order of society, encourage barbarism, and stamp the same character of rudeness on all their conquests. New wants sprung from new enjoyments ; while opulence, and the contagion of example, taught them to contract vices of which they had been ignorant, and which they did not redeem by new virtues. Murders, oppressions, and robberies, multiplied every day ; the sword was made the standard of honour, the rule of justice and injustice ; cruelty and perfidy be-

came every where the reigning character of the court, the nobility and the people.

Literature, with the arts and sciences, felt above all the baneful effects of this revolution. In less than a century after the first invasion of the barbarians, there scarcely remained a single trace of the literature and fine arts of the Romans. Learning, it is true, had for a long time been gradually falling into decay, and a corrupt taste had begun to appear among the Romans in works of genius and imagination; but no comparison can be made between the state of literature, such as it was in the West anterior to the revolution of the fifth century, and that which we find there after the conquests of the German nations.

These barbarians, addicted solely to war and the chase, despised the arts and sciences. Under their destructive hands, the finest monuments of the Romans were levelled to the ground; their libraries were reduced to ashes; their schools and seminaries of instruction annihilated. The feeble rays of learning that remained to the vanquished, were unable to enlighten or civilize those enemies to knowledge and mental cultivation. The sciences, unpatronised and unprotected by those ferocious conquerors, soon fell into total contempt.

It is to the Christian religion alone, which was embraced, in succession, by the barbarous destroyers of the empire, that we owe the preservation of the mutilated and venerable remains which we possess of Greek and Roman literature.¹⁹ The clergy, being the authorized teachers of religion, and the only interpreters of the sacred writings, were obliged by their office to have some tincture of letters. They thus became, over all the East, the

sole depositaries of learning ; and for a long series of ages, there was nobody in any other rank or profession of life, that occupied themselves with science, or had the slightest acquaintance even with the art of writing. These advantages which the clergy enjoyed, contributed in no small degree to augment their credit and their influence. Every where they were intrusted with the management of state affairs ; and the offices of chancellor, ministers, public notaries, and in general, all situations where knowledge or the art of writing was indispensable, were reserved for them ; and in this way their very name (*clericus*) became as it were the synonyme for a man of letters, or any person capable of handling the pen. The bishops, moreover, held the first rank in all political assemblies, and in war marched to the field in person, at the head of their vassals.

Another circumstance that contributed to raise the credit and the power of the clergy was, that the Latin language continued to be employed in the Roman provinces which had been subjected to the dominion of the German nations. Every thing was written exclusively in the Roman tongue, which became the language of the church, and of all public acts ; and it was long before the German dialects, which had become universally prevalent, could be reduced to writing. The corrupt pronunciation of the Latin, and its mixture with foreign idioms and constructions, gave birth, in course of time, to new languages, which still retain evidence of their Roman origin, such as the Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, French and English languages. In the fifth and following centuries, the Teutonic language, or that spoken by the conquerors of Gaul, was

called *lingua Francica*; this was distinguished from the *lingua Romana*, or the language spoken by the people; and which afterwards gave rise to the modern French. It appears, therefore, from what we have just stated, that the incursion of the German tribes into the provinces of the West, was the true source of all the barbarity, ignorance and superstition, in which that part of Europe was so long and so universally buried.

There would have been, therefore, every reason to deplore a revolution, not less sanguinary in itself than disastrous in its consequences, if, on the one hand, it had not been the instrument of delivering Europe from the terrible despotism of the Romans; and, on the other, if we did not find, in the rude institutions of the German conquerors, some germs of liberty, which, sooner or later, were sure to lead the nations of Europe to wiser laws, and better organized governments.

Among the states which rose on the ruins of the Roman empire, that of the Franks acquired the preponderance; and, for several ages, it sustained the character of being the most powerful kingdom in Europe. This monarchy, founded by Clovis, and extended still more by his successors, embraced the whole of Gaul except Languedoc, which belonged to the Visigoths.²⁰ The greater part of Germany also was subject to it, with the exception of Saxony, and the territories of the Slavi. After it had fallen into decay, by the partitions and civil wars of the descendants of Clovis, it rose again, solely however by the wisdom and ability of the mayors of the palace, who restored it once more to its original splendour.

These mayors, from being originally merely grand-

masters of the court, rose by degrees to be prime ministers, governors of the state, and ultimately to be kings. The founder of their greatness, was Pepin d'Heristal, a cadet of the dynasty of the Carolingians, which succeeded that of the Merovingians, towards the middle of the eighth century. Under the Merovingian princes, the sovereignty was divided between two principal kingdoms, viz. that of Austrasia, which comprehended Eastern France, being all that part of Gaul situated between the Meuse, the Scheld, and the Rhine; as well as the German provinces beyond the Rhine, which also made a part of that monarchy. The whole of Western Gaul, lying between the Scheld, the Meuse and the Loire, was called Neustria. Burgundy, Aquitain, and Provence, were considered as dependencies of this latter kingdom.

Dagobert II., King of Austrasia, having been assassinated (in 678), the King of Neustria, Thierry III., would in all probability have reunited the two monarchies; but the Austrasians, who dreaded and detested Ebroin, Mayor of Neustria, elected a mayor of their own, under the nominal authority of Thierry. This gave rise to a sort of civil war between the Austrasians and the Neustrians, headed by Pepin Heristal, Mayor of Austrasia, and Bertaire, Mayor of Neustria, who succeeded Ebroin. The battle which Pepin gained at Testry, near St Quentin (687), decided the fate of the empire; Bertaire was slain, and Thierry III. fell under the power of the conqueror. Pepin afterwards confirmed to Thierry the honours of royalty, and contented himself with the dignity of mayor, and the title of Duke and Prince of the Franks; but regarding the throne as his own by right.

of conquest, he vested in himself the sovereign authority, and granted to the Merovingian Prince, nothing more than the mere externals of majesty, and the simple title of king. Such was the revolution that transferred the supreme authority of the Franks to a new dynasty, viz. that of the Carolingians, who with great moderation, still preserved, during a period of sixty-five years, the royal dignity to the Merovingian princes, whom they had stript of all their power.²¹

Pepin d'Heristal being dead (714), the partisans of the ancient dynasty made a last effort to liberate the Merovingian kings from that dependence under which Pepin had held them so long. This prince, in transferring the sovereign authority to his grandson Theodwald, only six years of age, had devolved on his widow, whose name was Plectrude, the regency and guardianship of the young mayor.

A government so extraordinary emboldened the factious to attempt a revolution. The regent, as well as her grandson, were divested of the sovereignty, and the Neustrian grandees chose a mayor of their own party named Rainfroy; but their triumph was only of short duration. Charles Martel, natural son of Pepin as is supposed, having escaped from the prison where he had been detained by the regent, passed into Austrasia, and then caused himself to be proclaimed duke, after the example of his father. He engaged in a war against Chilperic II. and his mayor Rainfroy; three successive victories which he gained, viz. at Stavelo, Vinci near Cambray, and Soissons, in 716-17-18, made him once more master of the throne and the sovereign authority. The duke of

Aquitain having delivered up King Chilperic to him, he confirmed anew the title of royalty to that prince; and shortly after raised his glory to its highest pitch, by the brilliant victories which he gained over the Arabs (732–737), in the plains of Poitiers and Narbonne.

Pepin le Bref, (or the Short) son and successor of Charles Martel, finding his authority established both within and without his dominions, judged this a favourable opportunity for reuniting the title of royalty to the power of the sovereign. He managed to have himself elected King in the General Assembly of the Franks, which was convened in the Champ-de-Mars, in the neighbourhood of Soissons. Childeric III. the last of the Merovingian kings, was there deposed (752), and shut up in a convent. Pepin, with the intention of rendering his person sacred and inviolable, had recourse to the ceremony of coronation; and he was the first King who caused himself to be solemnly consecrated and crowned in the cathedral of Soissons, by St Boniface, first archbishop of Mayence.²² The example of Pepin was followed soon after by several princes and sovereigns of Europe. The last conquest he added to his dominion was the province of Languedoc, which he took (759) from the Arabs.

The origin of the secular power of the Roman pontiffs commences with the reign of Pepin. This event, which had so peculiar an influence on the religion and government of the European nations, requires to be detailed at some length.

At the period of which we write, there existed a violent controversy between the churches in the East, and those in the West, respecting the wor-

ship of images. The Emperor Leo the Isaurian had declared himself against this worship, and had proscribed it by an imperial edict (726). He and his successors persisted in destroying these objects of idolatry, as well as in persecuting those who avowed themselves devotees to this heresy. This extravagant zeal, which the Roman pontiffs blamed as excessive, excited the indignation of the people against the Grecian Emperors.²³ In Italy, there were frequent rebellions against the imperial officers that were charged with the execution of their orders. The Romans especially, took occasion, from this, to expel the duke or governor, who resided in their city on the part of the emperor; and they formally erected themselves into a republic (730), under the pontificate of Gregory II., by usurping all the rights of sovereignty, and, at the same time, reviving the ancient names of the senate and the Roman people. The Pope was recognised as chief or head of this new republic, and had the general direction of all affairs, both at home and abroad. The territory of this republic, formed of the dutchy of Rome, extended, from north to south, from Viterbo as far as Terracina; and from east to west, from Narni to the mouth of the Tiber. Such was the weakness of the Eastern empire, that all the efforts of the emperors to reduce the Romans to subjection proved unavailing. The Greek viceroy—the Duke of Naples, who had marched to besiege Rome, was killed in battle, together with his son; and the exarch himself was compelled to make peace with the republicans.

This state of distress to which the Grecian empire was reduced, afforded the Lombards an op-

portunity of extending their possessions in Italy. Aistolphus their king attacked the city of Ravenna (751), where the exarchs or governors-general of the Greeks had fixed their residence; and soon made himself master of it, as well as the province of the exarchate,²⁴ and the Pentapolis. The exarch Eutychius was obliged to fly, and took shelter in Naples.

This surrender of the capital of Grecian Italy, emboldened the Lombard King to extend his views still farther; he demanded the submission of the city and duchy of Rome, which he considered as a dependency of the exarchate. Pope Stephen II. became alarmed, and began to solicit an alliance with the Greek empire, whose distant power seemed to him less formidable than that of the Lombards, his neighbours; but being closely pressed by Aistolphus, and finding that he had no succour to expect from Constantinople, he determined to apply for protection to the Franks and their King Pepin.

The Franks, at that time, held the first rank among the nations of Europe; their exploits against the Arabians had gained them a high reputation for valour over all the West. Stephen repaired in person to France, and in an interview which he had with Pepin, he found means to interest that prince in his cause. Pepin did not yet regard himself as securely established on a throne which he had so recently usurped from the Merovingian princes; more especially as there still existed a son of Childeric III., named Thierry, and a formidable rivalry in the puissant dukes of Aquitaine, who were cadets of the same family. He

had no other right to the crown than that of election ; and this title, instead of descending to his sons, might perhaps serve as a pretext for depriving them of the sovereignty. Anxious to render the crown hereditary, he induced the Pope to renew the ceremony of his coronation in the Church of St Denis ; and, at the same time, to consecrate his two sons, Charles and Carloman. The Pope did more ; he disengaged the King from the oath which he had taken to Childeric, and bound all the nobility of the Franks, that were present on the occasion, in the name of Jesus Christ and St Peter, to preserve the royal dignity in the right of Pepin and his descendants ; and lastly, that he might the more effectually secure the attachment of Pepin and his sons, and procure for himself the title of being their protector, he publicly conferred on them the honour of being patricians of Rome.

So great condescension on the part of the Pope could not but excite the gratitude of Pepin. He not only promised him succour against the Lombards ; he engaged to recover the exarchate from their hands, and make a present of it to the Holy See ; he even made him a grant of it by anticipation, which he signed at the Castle of Chiersi-sur-l'Oise, and which he likewise caused to be signed by the princes his sons.²⁵ It was in fulfilment of these stipulations that Pepin undertook (755-56) two successive expeditions into Italy. He compelled Aistolphus to acknowledge himself his vassal, and deliver up to him the exarchate with the Pentapolis, of which he immediately put his Holiness in possession. This donation of Pepin served to confirm and to extend the secular power of the Popes,

which had already been augmented by various grants of a similar kind. The original document of this singular contract no longer exists ; but the names of the places are preserved which were ceded to the pontifical hierarchy. ^{2 6}

In the conclusion of this period, it may be proper to take some notice of the Arabs, commonly called Saracens, ^{2 7} and of their irruption into Europe. Mahomet, an Arab of noble birth, and a native of Mecca, had constituted himself a prophet, a legislator, and a conqueror, about the beginning of the seventh century of the Christian era. He had been expelled from Mecca (622) on account of his predictions, but afterwards returned at the head of an army ; and having made himself master of the city, he succeeded by degrees, in subjecting to his yoke the numerous tribes of Arabia. His successors, known by the name of Caliphs, or vicars spiritual and temporal of the prophet, followed the same triumphant career. They propagated their religion wherever they extended their empire, and overran with their conquests the vast regions both of Asia and Africa. Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Barca, Tripoli, and the whole northern coasts of Africa, were won from the Greek empire by the Caliphs ; who at the same time (651) overthrew the powerful monarchy of the Persians ; conquered Charasm, Transoxiana, and the Indies, and founded an empire more extensive than that of the Romans had been. The capital of the Caliphs, which had originally been at Medina, and afterwards at Cufa, was transferred (661) by the Caliph Moavia I. to Damascus in Syria ; and by the Caliph Almanzor, to Bagdad in Irak. Arabia, (766) which was founded by that prince,

It was under the Caliphate of Walid (711), that the Arabs first invaded Europe, and attacked the monarchy of the Visigoths in Spain. This monarchy had already sunk under the feebleness of its kings, and the despotic prerogatives which the grandees, and especially the bishops, had arrogated to themselves. These latter disposed of the throne at their pleasure, having declared it to be elective. They decided with supreme authority in the councils of the nation, and in all affairs of state. Muza at that time commanded in northern Africa, in name of the Caliph Walid. By the authority of that sovereign, he sent into Spain one of his generals, named Taric or Tarec-Abenzara, who, having made a descent on the coasts of Andalusia, took his station on the hill which the ancients called Calpè, and which has since been known by the name of Gibraltar (Gibel-Taric), or the hill of Taric, in commemoration of the Arabian general.

It was in the neighbourhood of the city Xeres de la Frontera, in Andalusia, that Taric encountered the army of the Visigoths, commanded by their King Roderic. The battle was decisive, as the Visigoths sustained a total defeat. Roderic perished in the flight; and Muza, the Arabian governor, having arrived to second the efforts of Taric, the conquest of all Spain followed as a consequence of this victory.²⁸ Septimania, or Languedoc, which then made a part of the Visigothic monarchy, passed at the same time under the dominion of the Arabs.

These fierce invaders did not limit their conquests in Europe to Spain and Languedoc; the Balearic Isles, Sardinia, Corsica, part of Apulia

and Calabria, fell likewise under their dominion : they infested the sea with their fleets, and more than once carried terror and desolation to the very gates of Rome. It is probable even that all Europe would have submitted to their yoke, if Charles Martel had not arrested the career of their victories. He defeated their numerous and warlike armies in the bloody battles which were fought near Poitiers and Narbonne (732–737), and at length compelled them to shut themselves up within the province of Languedoc.

The unity of the empire and the religion of Mahomet, did not long remain undivided. The first dynasty of the Caliphs, that of the Ommiades, was subverted ; and all the princes of that family massacred by the Abassides (749), who seized the caliphate.²⁹ A solitary descendant of the Ommiades, named Abdalraham, grandson of the fifteenth Caliph Huscham, was saved in Spain, and fixed his residence at Cordova ; and being acknowledged as Caliph by the Mussulmans there, he detached that province from the great empire of the Arabians. (756).

This revolution, and the confusion with which it was accompanied, gave fresh courage to the small number of Visigoths, who, to escape the Mahometan yoke, had retired to the mountains of Asturias. Issuing from their retreats, they retaliated on the Infidels ; and towards the middle of the eighth century, they laid the foundation of a new Christian state, called afterwards the kingdom of Oviedo or Leon. Alphonso I., surnamed the Catholic, must be regarded as the first founder of this new monarchy.³⁰

The Franks, likewise, took advantage of these events, to expel the Arabs from Languedoc. Pepin took possession of the cities of Nismes, Maguelonne, Agde, and Beziers (752), which were delivered up to him by a noble Goth, named Osmond. The reduction of Narbonne was by no means so easy a task. For seven years he continued to blockade it; and it was not until 759 that he became master of the city, and the whole of Languedoc.

The loss of Spain, on the part of the Abassides, was soon after followed by that of Northern Africa. Ibrahim-Ben-Aglab, having been sent thither as governor by the Caliph of Bagdad, Haroun Al-rashid (800), he found means to constitute himself sovereign prince over the countries, then properly termed Africa; of which Tripoli, Cairoan, Tunis, and Algiers, formed a part. He was the founder of the dynasty of the Aglabites; ³¹ while another usurper, named Edris, having conquered Numidia and Mauritania, called by the Arabs *Mogreb*, founded that of the Edrissites. These two dynasties were overturned (about 908) by Aboul Cassem Mohammed, son of Obeidallah, who claimed to be descended from Ali, by Fatima, daughter of the prophet; he subjected the whole of Northern Africa to his yoke, and took the titles of *Mahadi* and Caliph. From him were descended the Caliphs, called Fatimites, who extended their conquests to Egypt, and laid there the foundation of Kaherah, or Grand Cairo (968), where they established the seat of their caliphate, which, in the twelfth century, was destroyed by the Ayoubides.

The irruption of the Arabs into Spain, disastrous as it was, did not fail to produce effects be-

neficial to Europe, which owes its civilization partly to this circumstance. The Abassidian Caliphs, aspiring to be the protectors of letters and arts, began to found schools, and to encourage translations of the most eminent Greek authors into the Arabic language. Their example was followed by the Caliphs of Cordova, and even by the Fatimites, who held the sovereignty of Egypt and Northern Africa. In this manner a taste for learning was communicated to all the Mahometan states. From Bagdad it passed to Cairo; and from the banks of the Euphrates and the Nile, it spread itself as far as the Tagus. Mathematics,³² Astronomy, Chemistry, Medicine, Botany, and Materia Medica, were the sciences which the Arabians affected chiefly to cultivate. They excelled also in poetry, and in the art of embodying the fictions of imagination in the most agreeable narratives. Rhazes, Averroes, Avicenna, are among the number of their celebrated philosophers and physicians. Elmacin, Abulfeda, Abulpharagius, and Bohadin, as historians, have become famous to all posterity.

Thus Spain, under the Mahometans, by cultivating many sciences little known to the rest of Europe, became the seminary of the Christians in the West, who resorted thither in crowds, to prosecute in the schools of Cordova the study of learning and the liberal arts.³³ The use of the numerical characters, the manufacture of paper, cotton, and gun-powder, were derived to us from the Arabians, and especially from the Arabians of Spain. Agriculture, manufactures, and navigation, are all equally indebted to the Arabians. They gave a new impulse to the commerce of

the Indies; from the Persian Gulf they extended their trade along the shores of the Mediterranean, and to the borders of the Black Sea. Their carpets, and embroideries in gold and silver, their cloths of silk, and their manufactures in steel and leather, maintained for years a celebrity and a perfection unknown to the other nations of Europe.

REVOLUTIONS OF EUROPE.

CHAPTER III.

PERIOD II.

FROM CHARLEMAGNE TO OTHO THE GREAT.

A. D. 800—962.

THE reign of Charles the Great forms a remarkable epoch in the history of Europe. That prince, who succeeded his father Pepin (768), eclipsed all his predecessors, by the superiority of his genius, as well as by the wisdom and vigour of his administration. Under him the monarchy of the Franks was raised to the highest pinnacle of glory. He would have been an accomplished prince, and worthy of being commemorated as the benefactor of mankind, had he known how to restrain his immoderate thirst for conquest.

He carried his victorious arms into the centre of Germany; and subdued the warlike nation of the Saxons, whose territories extended from the Lower Rhine, to the Elbe and the Baltic sea. After a bloody war of thirty-three years, he compelled them to receive his yoke, and to embrace

Christianity, by the peace which he concluded with them (803) at Saltz on the Saal. The bishoprics of Munster, Osnaburg, Minden, Paderborn, Verden, Bremen, Hildesheim, and Halberstadt, owe their origin to this prince. Several of the Slavonian nations, the Abotrites (789), the Wilzians (805), the Sorabians (806), the Bohemians (811), &c., acknowledged themselves his tributaries; and by a treaty of peace which he concluded with Hemming, King of Jutland, he fixed the river Eyder, as the northern limit of his empire against the Danes. Besides these, the powerful monarchy of the Avars,¹ which comprehended all the countries known in modern times by the names of Austria, Hungary, Transylvania, Sclavonia, Dalmatia, and Croatia, was completely subverted by him (791); and he likewise despoiled the Arabians of all that part of Spain which is situated between the Pyrenees and the Ebro (796), as also of Corsica, Sardinia, and the Balearic Isles. In Spain he established military commanders, under the title of *Margraves*.

Of these conquests, the one that deserves the most particular attention is that of Italy, and the kingdom of the Lombards. At the solicitation of Pope Adrian I., Charles undertook an expedition against the last of the Lombard kings. He besieged that prince in his capital at Pavia; and having made him prisoner, after a long siege, he shut him up in confinement for the rest of his days, and incorporated his dominions with the monarchy of the Franks. The Dukes of Benevento, who, as vassals of the Lombard kings, then occupied the greater part of Lower Italy, were at the same time compelled to acknowledge the sove-

reignty of the conquerors, who allowed them to exercise their hereditary rights, on condition of their paying an annual tribute. The only places in this part of Italy that remained unsubdued, were the maritime towns, of which the Greeks still found means to maintain the possession.

In order to secure the conquest of this country, as well as to protect it against the incursions of the Arabians, Charles established several marches and military stations, such as the marches of Friuli, Tarento, Turin, Liguria, Teti, &c. The downfall of the Lombards, put an end to the republican government of the Romans. During the blockade of Pavia, Charles having gone to Rome to be present at the feast of Easter (774), was received there with all the honours due to an Exarch and a Patrician; and there is incontestable proof that he afterwards received, under that title, the rights of sovereignty over Rome and the Ecclesiastical States.

The Patrician dignity, instituted by Constantine the Great, ranked, in the Greek empire, next after that of emperor. It was of such consideration, that even barbarian kings, the destroyers of the ancient Roman empire in the West, became candidates for this honour at the Court of Constantinople. The exarchs of Ravenna were generally invested with it, and exercised under this title, rather than that of exarch or governor, the authority which they enjoyed at Rome. Pope Stephen II. had, twenty years before, conferred the patriciate on Pepin and his sons; although these princes appear never to have exercised the right, regarding it merely as an honorary title, so long at least as the kingdom of the Lombards separated them from Rome and the States of the

Church. Charles no sooner saw himself master of that kingdom, than he affected to add to his titles of King of the Franks and Lombards that of Patrician of the Romans; and began to exercise over Rome and the Ecclesiastical States those rights of supremacy which the Greek emperors and exarchs had enjoyed before him.

This prince returned to Rome towards the end of the year 800, in order to inquire into a conspiracy which some of the Roman nobility had concerted against the life of Pope Leo III. The whole affair having been discussed in his presence, and the innocence of the Pope clearly established, Charles went to assist at the solemn mass which was celebrated in St Peter's Church on Christmas day (800.) The Pope, anxious to show him some public testimony of his gratitude, chose the moment when the prince was on his knees at the foot of the grand altar, to put the imperial crown on his head, and cause him to be proclaimed to the people Emperor of the Romans.

From this affair must be dated the revival of the Roman Empire in the West,—a title which had been extinct for three hundred years. The emperors of the East who, during that interval, had continued exclusively in the enjoyment of that title, appeared to have some reason for opposing an innovation which might eventually become prejudicial to them. The contest which arose on this subject between the two emperors, was at length (803) terminated by treaty. The Greek emperors recognised the new dignity of Charles (812); and on these conditions they were allowed to retain those possessions, which they still held by a feeble tenure in Italy.

In thus maintaining the imperial dignity against the Greek emperors, Charles added nothing to his real power ; he acquired from it no new right over the dismembered provinces of the Western empire, the state of which had, for a long time past, been fixed by specific regulations. He did not even augment his authority over Rome, where he continued to exercise the same rights of superiority under the title of emperor, which he had formerly done under that of patrician.

This prince, whose genius soared beyond his age, did not figure merely as a warrior and a conqueror ; he was also a legislator, and a zealous patron of letters. By the laws which he published under the title of *Capitularies*, he reformed several abuses, and introduced new ideas of order and justice. Commissioners nominated by himself, were charged to travel through the provinces, to superintend the execution of the laws, listen to the complaints of the people, and render justice to each without distinction and without partiality. He conceived likewise the idea of establishing a uniformity of weights and measures throughout the empire. Some of the laws of that great man, however, indicate a disposition tinged with the barbarism and superstition of his age. The *Judgments of God* are expressly held by him to be legal tests of right and wrong, and the greater part of crimes expiable by money. By a general law, which he passed in 779, introducing the payment of ecclesiastical tithes, and which he extended to the vanquished Saxons (791), he alienated the affections of that people ; and the code which he dictated on this occasion, is remarkable for its a-

trocity ; which their repeated revolts, and frequent returns to paganism, cannot justify.

As to his patronage and love of letters, this is attested by the numerous schools which he founded, and the encouragements he held out to them ; as well as the attention he showed in inviting to his court, the most celebrated learned men from every country in Europe. He formed them into a kind of academy, or literary society, of which he was himself a member. When at an advanced age, he received instruction in rhetoric, logic and astronomy, from the famous Alcuin, an Englishman, to whom he was much attached. He endeavoured also to improve his vernacular tongue, which was the Teutonic, or *lingua Francica*, by drawing up a grammar of that language, giving German names to the months and the winds, which had not yet received them ; and in making a collection of the military songs of the ancient Germans. He extended an equal protection to the arts, more especially architecture, a taste for which he had imbibed in Italy and Rome. Writers of those times speak with admiration of the palaces and edifices constructed by his orders, at Ingelhiem, near Mentz, at Nimeguen, on the left bank of the Waal, and at Aix-la-Chapelle. These buildings were adorned with numerous paintings, as well as marble and mosaic work, which he had brought from Rome and Ravenna.

The empire of Charlemagne, which may bear a comparison as to its extent with the ancient empire of the West, embraced the principal part of Europe. All Gaul, Germany, and Spain as far as the Ebro, Italy to Benevento, several islands in the Mediterranean, with a considerable part of Pan-

nonia, composed this vast empire, which, from west to east, extended from the Ebro to the Elbe and the Raab ; and from south to north, from the dutchy of Benevento and the Adriatic Sea to the River Eyder, which formed the boundary between Germany and Denmark.

In defining the limits of the empire of Charlemagne, care must be taken not to confound the provinces and states incorporated with the empire with those that were merely tributary. The former were governed by officers who might be recalled at the will of the prince ; while the latter were free states, whose only tenure on the empire was by alliance, and the contributions they engaged to pay. Such was the policy of this prince, that, besides the marches or military stations which he had established on the frontiers of Germany, Spain, and Italy, he chose to retain on different points of his dominions, nations who, under the name of tributaries, enjoyed the protection of the Franks, and might act as a guard or barrier against the barbarous tribes of the east and north, who had long been in the habit of making incursions into the western and southern countries of Europe.

Thus the dukes of Benevento in Italy, who were simply vassals and tributaries of the empire, supplied as it were a rampart or bulwark against the Greeks and Arabians ; while the Slavonian nations of Germany, Pannonia, Dalmatia, and Croatia, though feudatories or vassals of France, were governed, nevertheless, by their own laws, and in general did not even profess the Christian religion.

From this brief sketch of the reign of Charlemagne, it is easy to perceive, that there was then no single power in Europe formidable enough to

enter into competition with the empire of the Franks. The monarchies of the north, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, and those of Poland and Russia, were not then in existence; or had not emerged from the thick darkness that still covered those parts of continental Europe. England then presented a heptarchy of seven confederate governments, the union of which was far from being well consolidated. The kings of this confederacy were incessantly engaged in war with each other; and it was not until several years after Charlemagne, that Egbert the Great, king of Wessex, prevailing in the contest, constituted himself King of all England, in 827.

The Mahometan part of Spain, after it was separated from the great empire of the Caliph's, was engaged in perpetual warfare with the East. The Ommiades, sovereigns of Cordova, far from provoking their western neighbours, whose valour they had already experienced, showed themselves, on the contrary, attentive to preserve peace and good understanding with them. The Greek emperors, who were continually quarrelling with the Arabs and Bulgarians, and agitated by factions and intestine commotions, could no longer be an object of suspicion or rivalry to the monarchy of the Franks.

Thus did the empire of Charlemagne enjoy the glory of being the ascendant power in Europe; but it did not long sustain its original splendor. It would have required a man of extraordinary talents, to manage the reins of a government so extensive and so complicated. Louis-le-Debonnaire, or the Gentle, the son and successor of Charles, did not possess a single qualification proper to govern the vast dominions which his father had

bequeathed to him. As impolitic as he was weak and superstitious, he had not the art of making himself either loved or feared by his subjects. By the imprudent partition of his dominions between his sons, which he made even in his lifetime, he planted with his own hand those seeds of discord in his family, which accelerated the downfall of the empire. The civil wars which had commenced in his reign continued after his death. Louis, surnamed the German, and Charles the Bald, combined against their elder brother Lothaire, and defeated him at the famous battle of Fontenay in Burgundy (841), where all the flower of the ancient nobility perished. Louis and Charles, victorious in this engagement, obliged their brother to take refuge in Italy. They next marched to Strasbourg, where they renewed their alliance (842), and confirmed it by oath at the head of their troops.²

These princes were on the point of dividing the whole monarchy between them, when, by the interference of the nobility, they became reconciled to their elder brother, and concluded a treaty with him at Verdun (843), which finally completed the division of the empire. By this formal distribution Lothaire retained the imperial dignity, with the kingdom of Italy, and the provinces situated between the Rhone, the Saone, the Meuse, the Scheld, the Rhine, and the Alps. Louis had all Germany beyond the Rhine, and on this side of the river, the cantons of Mayence, Spire, and Worms; and, lastly, all that part of Gaul which extends from the Scheld, the Meuse, the Saone, and the Rhone, to the Pyrenees, fell to the lot of

Charles, whose division also comprehended the March of Spain, consisting of the province of Barcelona, and the territories which Charlemagne had conquered, beyond the Pyrenees.

It is with this treaty, properly speaking, that modern France commences, which is but a department of the ancient empire of the Franks, or monarchy of Charlemagne. For a long time it retained the boundaries which the conference at Verdun had assigned it; and whatever it now possesses beyond these limits, was the acquisition of conquests which it has made since the fourteenth century. Charles the Bald was in fact then the first King of France, and it is from him that the series of her kings commences. It was moreover under this prince that the government of the Neustrians or Western Franks assumed a new aspect. Before his time it was entirely of a Frankish or German constitution; the manners and customs of the conquerors of Gaul everywhere predominated; their language (the *lingua Franca*) was that of the court and the government. But after the dismemberment of which we have spoken, the Gauls imported it into Neustria or Western France; the customs and popular language were adopted by the court, and had no small influence on the government. This language, which was then known by the name of the *Roman* or *Romance*, polished by the refinements of the court, assumed by degrees a new and purer form, and in course of time became the parent of the modern French. It was therefore at this period, viz. the reign of Charles the Bald, that the Western Franks began, properly speaking, to be a distinct nation, and exchanged their more ancient

appellation for that of *French*; the name by which they are still known.

At this same period Germany was, for the first time, embodied into a monarchy, having its own particular kings. Louis the German, was the first monarch of Germany, as Charles the Bald was of France. The kingdom of Louis for a long time was called Eastern France, to distinguish it from the Western kingdom of that name, which henceforth exclusively retained the name of France.

The empire of Charlemagne, which the treaty of Verdun had divided, was for a short space reunited (884) under Charles, surnamed the Fat, younger son of Louis the German, and King of Germany; but that prince, too feeble to support so great a weight, was deposed by his German subjects (887), and their example was speedily followed by the French and the Italians. The vast empire of the Franks was thus dismembered for ever (888), and besides the kingdoms of France, Germany, and Italy, it gave birth to three new States—the kingdoms of Lorraine, Burgundy, and Navarre.

The kingdom of Lorraine took its name from Lothaire II., younger son of the Emperor Lothaire I., who, in the division which he made of his estates among his sons (855), gave to this Lothaire the provinces situated between the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheld, known since under the name of Lorraine, Alsace, Treves, Cologne, Juliers, Liege, and the Low Countries. At the death of Lothaire II., who left no male or legitimate heirs, his kingdom was divided by the treaty of Procaspiis (870), into two equal portions, one of which was assigned to Louis the German, and

the other to Charles the Bald.³ By a subsequent treaty, concluded (879) between the sons of Louis, surnamed the Stammerer, King of France, and Louis the Young, King of Germany, the French division of Lorraine was ceded to this latter prince, who thus reunited the whole of that kingdom. It remained incorporated with Germany, at the time when the last dismemberment of that monarchy took place, (895), on the deposition of Charles the Fat. Arnulph, King of Germany, and successor of Charles, bestowed the kingdom of Lorraine on Swentibald his natural son, who after a reign of five years, was deposed by Louis, surnamed the Infant, son and successor of Arnulph. Louis dying without issue, (912), Charles the Simple, King of France, took advantage of the commotions in Germany, to put himself in possession of that kingdom, which was at length finally reunited to the Germanic crown by Henry, surnamed the Fowler.

Two new kingdoms appeared under the name of Burgundy, viz. Provence or Cisjurane Burgundy, and Transjurane Burgundy. The founder of the former was a nobleman named Boson, whose sister Charles the Bald had espoused. Elevated by the king, his brother-in-law, to the highest dignities in the state, he was created, in succession, Count of Vienna, Duke of Provence, Duke of Italy, and Prime Minister, and even obtained in marriage the Princess Irmengarde, daughter of Louis II., Emperor and King of Italy. Instigated by this princess, he did not scruple to raise his ambitious views to the throne. The death of Louis the Stammerer, and the troubles that ensued, afforded him an opportunity of attaching to

his interest most of the bishops in those countries, intrusted to his government. In an assembly which he held at Mantaille in Dauphiné, (879), he engaged them by oath to confer on him the royal dignity. The schedule of this election, with the signatures of the bishops affixed, informs us distinctly of the extent of this new kingdom, which comprehended Franche-Comté, Maçon, Chalons-sur-Saone, Lyons, Vienne and its dependencies, Agde, Viviers, Usez, with their dependencies in Languedoc, Provence, and a part of Savoy. Boson caused himself to be anointed king at Lyons, by the archbishop of that city. He maintained possession of his usurped dominions, in spite of the combined efforts which were made by the kings of France and Germany to reduce him to subjection.

The example of Boson was followed soon after by Rodolph, governor of Transjurane Burgundy, and related by the female side to the Carolingians. He was proclaimed king, and crowned at St Maurice in the Valais; and his new kingdom, situated between Mount Jura and the Penine Alps, contained Switzerland, as far as the River Reuss, the Valais, and a part of Savoy. The death of Boson, happening about this time, furnished Rodolph with a favourable opportunity of extending his frontiers, and seizing a part of the country of Burgundy.

These two kingdoms were afterwards (930) united into one. Hugo, king of Italy, exercised at that time the guardianship of the young Constantine, his relation, the son of Louis, and grandson of Boson. The Italians, discontented under the government of Hugo, and having devolved their crown on Rodolph II., king of Transjurane Bur-

gundy, Hugo, in order to maintain himself on the throne of Italy, and exclude Rodolph, ceded to him the district of Provence, and the kingdom of his royal ward. Thus united in the person of Rodolph, these two kingdoms passed to his descendants, viz. Conrad, his son, and Rodolph III., his grandson. These princes are styled, in their titles, sometimes *Kings of Burgundy*; sometimes *Kings of Vienne or Arles*; sometimes *Kings of Provence and Allemania*. They lost, in course of time, their possessions beyond the Rhone and the Saone; and in the time of Rodolph III., this kingdom had for its boundaries the Rhine, the Rhone, the Saone, the Reuss, and the Alps.

Navarre, the kingdom next to be mentioned, known among the ancients under the name of *Vasconia*, was one of the provinces beyond the Pyrenees, which Charlemagne had conquered from the Arabs. Among the counts or wardens of the Marches (called by the Germans Margraves), which he established, the most remarkable were those of Barcelona in Catalonia, Jacca in Arragon, and Pampeluna in Navarre. All these Spanish Marches were comprised within Western France, and within the division which fell to the share of Charles the Bald, on the dismemberment of that monarchy among the sons of Louis the Gentle. The extreme imbecility of that prince, and the calamities of his reign, were the causes why the Navarrese revolted from France, and erected themselves into a free and independent state. It appears also, that they were implicated in the defection of Aquitain (853), when it threw off the yoke of Charles the Bald. Don Garcias, son of the Count Don Garcias, and grandson of Don Sancho,

is generally reckoned the first of their monarchs, that usurped the title of *King of Pampeluna*, (858.) He and his successors in the kingdom of Navarre, possessed, at the same time, the province of Jacca in Arragon. The Counts of Barcelona were the only Spanish dependencies that, for many centuries, continued to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Kings of France.

On this part of our subject, it only remains for us to point out the causes that conspired to accelerate the downfall of the empire of the Franks. Among these we may reckon the inconveniences of the feudal system,—a system as unfitted for the purposes of internal administration, as it was incompatible with the maxims that ought to rule a great empire. The abuse of fiefs was carried so far by the Franks, that almost all property had become feudal; and not only grants of land, and portions of large estates, but governments, dukedoms, and counties, were conferred and held under the title of fiefs. The consequence of this was, that the great, by the allurements of fiefs or benefices, became devoted followers of the kings, while the body of the nation sold themselves as retainers of the great. Whoever refused this vassalage was despised, and had neither favour nor honour to expect.⁴ By this practice, the liberty of the subject was abridged without augmenting the royal authority. The nobles soon became so powerful, by the liberality of their kings, and the number of their vassals they found means to procure, that they had at length the presumption to dictate laws to the sovereign himself. By degrees, the obligations which they owed to the state were forgotten, and those only recognised which the feudal contract impos-

ed. This new bond of alliance was not long in opening a door to licentiousness, as by a natural consequence, it was imagined, that the feudal superior might be changed, whenever there was a possibility of charging him with a violation of his engagements, or of that reciprocal fidelity which he owed to his vassals.

A system like this, not only overturned public order, by planting the germs of corruption in every part of the internal administration; it was still more defective with regard to the external operations of government, and directly at variance with all plans of aggrandisement or of conquest. As war was carried on by means of slaves or vassals only, it is easy to perceive that such armies not being kept constantly on foot, were with difficulty put in motion; that they could neither prevent intestine rebellion, nor be a protection against hostile invasion; and that conquests made by means of such troops, must be lost with the same facility that they are won. A permanent military, fortresses and garrisons, such as we find in modern tactics, were altogether unknown among the Franks. These politic institutions, indispensable in great empires, were totally repugnant to the genius of the German nations. They did not even know what is meant by finances, or regular systems of taxation. Their kings had no other pecuniary resource than the simple revenues of their demesnes, which served for the maintainance of their court. Gratuitous donations, the perquisites of bed and lodging, fines, the tierce of which belonged to the king, rights of custom and toll, added but little to their wealth, and could not be reckoned among the number of state resources. None

but tributaries, or conquered nations, were subjected to the payment of certain imposts or assessments; from these the Franks were exempted; they would have even regarded it as an insult and a blow struck at their national liberty, had they been burdened with a single imposition.

It is obvious, that a government like this, so disjointed and incoherent in all its parts, in spite of the advantages which accrued to it from nourishing a spirit of liberty, and opposing a sort of barrier against despotism, was nevertheless far from being suitable to an empire of such prodigious extent as that of the Franks. Charlemagne had tried to infuse a new vigour into the state by the wise laws which he published, and the military stations which he planted on the frontiers of his empire. Raised, by the innate force of his genius above the prejudices of the age in which he lived, that prince had formed a system capable of giving unity and consistency to the state, had it been of longer duration. But this system fell to pieces and vanished, when no longer animated and put in execution by its author. Disorder and anarchy speedily paralyzed every branch of the government, and ultimately brought on the dismemberment of the empire.

Another cause which accelerated the fall of this vast empire, was the territorial divisions, practised by the kings, both of the Merovingian, and the Carlovingian race. Charlemagne and Louis the Gentle, when they ordered the empire to be divided among their sons, never imagined this partition would terminate in a formal dismemberment of the monarchy. Their intention was rather to preserve

union and amity, by means of certain rights of superiority, which they granted to their eldest sons, whom they had invested with the Imperial dignity. But this subordination of the younger to their elder brothers was not of long continuance; and these divisions, besides naturally weakening the state, became a source of perpetual discord; and reduced the Carlovingian princes to the necessity of courting the grandees, on every emergency; and gaining their interest by new gifts, or by concessions which went to sap the foundation of the throne.

This exorbitant power of the nobles, must also be reckoned among the number of causes that hastened the decline of the empire. Dukes and Counts, besides being intrusted with the justice and police of their respective governments, exercised, at the same time, a military power, and collected the revenues of the Exchequer. So many and so different jurisdictions, united in one and the same power, could not but become dangerous to the royal authority; while it facilitated to the nobles the means of fortifying themselves in their governments, and breaking, by degrees, the unity of the state. Charlemagne had felt this inconvenience; and he thought to remedy the evil, by successively abolishing the great duchies, and dividing them into several counties. Unfortunately this policy was not followed out by his successors, who returned to the ancient practice of creating dukes; and besides, being educated and nurtured in superstition by the priests, they put themselves wholly under dependence to bishops and ecclesiastics, who thus disposed of the state at their pleasure. The consequence was, that governments, at first alter-

able only by the will of the King, passed eventually to the children, or heirs, of those who were merely administrators, or superintendants, of them,

Charles the Bald, first King of France, had the weakness to constitute this dangerous principle into a standing law, in the parliament which he held at Chiersi (877), towards the close of his reign. He even extended this principle generally to all fiefs; to those that held immediately of the crown, as well as to those which held of laic, or ecclesiastical superiors.

This new and exorbitant power of the nobles, joined to the injudicious partitions already mentioned, tended to sow fresh discord among the different members of the state, by exciting a multitude of civil wars and domestic feuds, which, by a necessary consequence, brought the whole body-politic into a state of decay and dissolution. The history of the successors of Charlemagne presents a sad picture, humiliating and distressing to humanity. Every page of it is filled with insurrections, devastations, and carnage: princes, sprung from the same blood, armed against each other, breathing unnatural vengeance, and bent on mutual destruction: the royal authority insulted and despised by the nobles, who were perpetually at war with each other, either to decide their private quarrels, or aggrandize themselves at the expense of their neighbours; and, finally, the citizens exposed to all kinds of oppression, reduced to misery and servitude, without the hope or possibility of redress from the government. Such was the melancholy situation of the States that composed the Empire of Charlemagne, when the irruption of new barbarians, the Normans from the extremi-

ties of the North, and the Hungarians from the back settlements of Asia, exposed it afresh to the terrible scourge of foreign invasion.

The Normans, of German origin, and inhabiting ancient Scandinavia, that is to say, Sweden, Denmark, and modern Norway, began, towards the end of the eighth century, to cover the sea with their ships, and to infest successively all the maritime coasts of Europe.⁵ During the space of two hundred years, they continued their incursions and devastations, with a fierceness and perseverance that surpasses all imagination. This phenomenon, however, is easily explained, if we attend to the state of barbarism in which the inhabitants of Scandinavia, in general, were at that time plunged. Despising agriculture and the arts, they found themselves unable to draw from fishing and the chase, the necessary means even for their scanty subsistence. The comfortable circumstances of their neighbours who cultivated their lands, excited their cupidity, and invited them to acquire by force, piracy, or plunder, what they had not sufficient skill to procure by their own industry. They were, moreover, animated by a sort of religious fanaticism, which inspired them with courage for the most perilous enterprise. This reckless superstition they drew from the doctrines of Odin, who was the god of their armies, the rewarder of valour and intrepidity in war, receiving into his paradise of *Valhalla*, the brave who fell beneath the swords of the enemy; while, on the other hand, the abode of the wretched, called by them *Helvete*, was prepared for those who, abandoned to ease and effeminacy, preferred a life of tranquil-

lity to the glory of arms, and the perils of warlike adventure.

This doctrine, generally diffused over all the north, inspired the Scandinavian youth with an intrepid and ferocious courage, which made them brave all dangers, and consider the sanguinary death of warriors as the surest path to immortality. Often did it happen that the sons of kings, even those who were already destined as successors to their father's throne, volunteered as chiefs of pirates and brigands, under the name of *Sea Kings*, solely for the purpose of obtaining a name, and signalizing themselves by their maritime exploits.

These piracies of the Normans, which at first were limited to the seas and countries bordering on Scandinavia, soon extended over all the western and southern coasts of Europe. Germany, the kingdoms of Lorraine, France, England, Scotland, Ireland, Spain, the Balearic Isles, Italy, Greece, and even the shores of Africa, were exposed in their turn to the insults and the ravages of these barbarians.⁶

France more especially suffered from their incursions, under the feeble reigns of Charles the Bald, and Charles the Fat. Not content with the havoc which they made on the coasts, they ascended the Seine, the Loire, the Garonne, and the Rhone, carrying fire and sword to the very centre of the kingdom. Nantes, Angers, Tours, Blois, Orleans, Mons, Poitiers, Bourdeaux, Rouen, Paris, Sens, Laon, Soissons, and various other cities, experienced the fury of these invaders. Paris was three times sacked and pillaged by them. Robert

the Strong, a scion of the royal House of Capet, whom Charles the Bald had created (861) Duke or Governor of Neustria, was killed in battle (866) while combating with success against the Normans. At length, the terror which they had spread everywhere was such, that the French, who trembled at the very name of the Normans, had no longer courage to encounter them in arms; and in order to rid themselves of such formidable enemies, they consented to purchase their retreat by a sum of money; a wretched and feeble remedy, which only aggravated the evil, by inciting the invaders, by the hope of gain, to return to the charge.

It is not however at all astonishing, that France should have been exposed so long to these incursions, since, besides the inefficient state of that monarchy, she had no vessels of her own to protect her coasts. The nobles, occupied solely with the care of augmenting or confirming their growing power, offered but a feeble opposition to the Normans, whose presence in the kingdom caused a diversion favourable to their views. Some of them even had no hesitation in joining the barbarians, when they happened to be in disgrace, or when they thought they had reason to complain of the government.

It was in consequence of these numerous expeditions over all the seas of Europe, that the monarchies of the North were formed, and that the Normans succeeded also in founding several other states. It is to them that the powerful monarchy of the Russians owes its origin; Ruric the Norman is allowed to have been its founder, towards the middle of the ninth century. 7 He and the

grand dukes his successors, extended their conquests from the Baltic and the White Sea, to the Euxine; and during the tenth century they made the emperors of the East to tremble on their thrones. In their native style of piratical warfare, they embarked on the Dnieper or Borysthènes, infested with their fleets the coasts of the Black Sea, carried terror and dismay to the gates of Constantinople, and obliged the Greek emperors to pay them large sums to redeem their capital from pillage.

Ireland was more than once on the point of being subdued by the Normans, during these piratical excursions. Their first invasion of this island is stated to have been in the year 795. Great ravages were committed by the barbarians, who conquered or founded the cities of Waterford, Dublin, and Limerick, which they formed into separate petty kingdoms. Christianity was introduced among them towards the middle of the tenth century; and it was not till the twelfth, the time of its invasion by the English, that they succeeded in expelling them from the island, when they were dispossessed of the cities of Waterford and Dublin (1170) by Henry II. of England.

Orkney, the Hebrides, the Shetland and Faroe Islands, and the Isle of Man, were also discovered and peopled by the Normans.⁸ Another colony of these Normans peopled Iceland, where they founded a republic (874), which preserved its independence till nearly the middle of the thirteenth century, when that island was conquered by the Kings of Norway.⁹ Normandy, in France, also received its name from this people. Charles the Simple, wishing to put a check on their continual

incursions, concluded, at St Clair-sur-Epte (892), a treaty with Rollo or Rolf, chief of the Normans, by which he abandoned to them all that part of Neustria which reaches from the rivers Andelle and Aure to the ocean. To this he added a part of Vexin, situated between the rivers Andelle and Epte; as also the territory of Bretagne. Rollo embraced Christianity, and received the baptismal name of Robert. He submitted to become a vassal of the crown of France, under the title of Duke of Normandy; and obtained in marriage the princess Gisele, daughter of Charles the Simple. In the following century, we shall meet with these Normans of France as the conquerors of England, and the founders of the kingdom of the two Sicilies.

The Hungarians, a people of Turkish or Finnish origin, emigrated, as is generally supposed, from Baschiria, a country lying to the north of the Caspian Sea, between the Wolga, the Kama, and Mount Ural, near the source of the Tobol and the Jaik, or modern Ural. The Orientals designate them by the generic name of Turks, while they denominate themselves *Magiars*, from the name of one of their tribes. After having been long dependent on the Chazars,¹⁰ a Turkish tribe to the north of the Palus Mæotis, they retired towards the Danube, to avoid the oppressions of the Patzinacites;¹¹ and established themselves (887) in ancient Dacia, under the auspices of a chief named Arpad, from whom the ancient sovereigns of Hungary derive their origin. Arnulph, King of Germany, employed these Hungarians (892) against the Slavo-Moravians, who possessed a flourishing state on the banks of the Danube,

the Morau, and the Elbe.¹² While engaged in this expedition, they were attacked again in their Dacian possessions by the Patzinacites, who succeeded at length in expelling them from these territories.¹³ Taking advantage afterwards of the death of Swiatopolk, king of the Moravians, and the troubles consequent on that event, they dismembered from Moravia all the country which extends from the frontiers of Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania, to the Danube and the Morau. They conquered, about the same time, Pannonia, with a part of Noricum, which they had wrested from the Germans; and thus laid the foundation of a new state, known since by the name of Hungary.

No sooner had the Hungarians established themselves in Pannonia, than they commenced their incursions into the principal states of Europe. Germany, Italy and Gaul, agitated by faction and anarchy, and even the Grecian empire in the East, became, all in their turn, the bloody scene of their ravages and devastations. Germany, in particular, for a long time felt the effects of their fury. All its provinces in succession were laid waste by these barbarians, and compelled to pay them tribute. Henry I., King of Germany, and his son Otho the Great, at length succeeded in arresting their destructive career, and delivered Europe from this new yoke which threatened its independence.

It was in consequence of these incursions of the Hungarians and Normans, to which may be added those of the Arabs and Slavonians, that the kingdoms which sprang from the empire of the Franks lost once more the advantages which the

political institutions of Charlemagne had procured them. Learning, which that prince had encouraged, fell into a state of absolute languor ; an end was put both to civil and literary improvement, by the destruction of convents, schools, and libraries ; the polity and internal security of the states were destroyed, and commerce reduced to nothing. England was the only exception, which then enjoyed a transient glory under the memorable reign of Alfred the Great. That prince, grandson of Egbert, who was the first king of all England, succeeded in expelling the Normans from the island (887), and restored peace and tranquillity to his kingdom. After the example of Charlemagne, he cultivated and protected learning and the arts, by restoring the convents and schools which the barbarians had destroyed ; inviting philosophers and artists to his court, and civilizing his subjects by literary institutions and wise regulations.¹⁴ It is to be regretted, that a reign so glorious was so soon followed by new misfortunes. After the Normans, the Danes reappeared in England, and overspread it once more with turbulence and desolation.

During these unenlightened and calamitous times, we find the art of navigation making considerable progress. The Normans, traversing the seas perpetually with their fleets, learned to construct their vessels with greater perfection, to become better skilled in wind and weather, and to use their oars and sails with more address. It was, moreover, in consequence of these invasions, that more correct information was obtained regarding Scandinavia, and the remote regions of the North. Two Normans, Wolfstane and Other, the

one from Jutland, and the other from Norway, undertook separate voyages, in course of the ninth century, principally with the view of making maritime discoveries. Wolfstane proceeded to visit that part of Prussia, or the *Estonia* of the ancients, which was renowned for its produce of yellow amber. Other did not confine his adventures to the coasts of the Baltic; setting out from the port of Heligoland, his native country, he doubled Cape North, and advanced as far as Biarmia, at the mouth of the Dwina, in the province of Archangel. Both he and Wolfstane communicated the details of their voyages to Alfred the Great, who made use of them in his Anglo-Saxon translation of Orosius.

Besides Iceland and the Northern Isles, of which we have already spoken, we find, in the tenth century, some of the fugitive Normans peopling Greenland; and others forming settlements in Finland, which some suppose to be the island of Newfoundland, in North America. ¹⁵

REVOLUTIONS OF EUROPE.

CHAPTER IV.

PERIOD III.

FROM OTHO THE GREAT TO GREGORY THE GREAT.

A. D. 962—1074.

WHILE most of the states that sprang from the dismembered empire of the Franks, continued to be the prey of disorder and anarchy, the kingdom of Germany assumed a new form, and for several ages maintained the character of being the ruling power in Europe. It was erected into a monarchy at the peace of Verdun (843), and had for its first king Louis the German, second son of Louis the Gentle. At that time it comprised, besides the three cantons of Spire, Worms, and Mayence, on this side the Rhine, all the countries and provinces beyond that river, which had belonged to the empire of the Franks, from the Eyder and the Baltic, to the Alps and the confines of Pannonia. Several of the Slavian tribes, also, were its tributaries.

From the first formation of this kingdom, the royal authority was limited; and Louis the German, in an assembly held at Marsne (851), had formally engaged *to maintain the states in their rights and privileges; to follow their counsel and advice; and to consider them as his true colleagues and coadjutors in all the affairs of government.* The states, however, soon found means to vest in themselves the right of choosing their kings. The first Carlovingian monarchs of Germany were hereditary. Louis the German even divided his kingdom among his three sons, viz. Carloman, Louis the Young, and Charles the Fat; but Charles having been deposed in an assembly held at Frankfort (887), the states of Germany elected in his place Arnulph, a natural son of Carloman. This prince added to his crown both Italy and the Imperial dignity.

The custom of election has continued in Germany down to modern times. Louis l'Enfant, or the Infant, son of Arnulph, succeeded to the throne by election; and that prince having died very young (911), the states bestowed the crown on a French nobleman, named Conrad, who was duke or governor of France on the Rhine, and related by the female side to the Carlovingian line. Conrad mounted the throne, to the exclusion of Charles the Simple, King of France, the only male and legitimate heir of the Carlovingian line. This latter prince, however, found means to seize the kingdom of Lorrain, which Louis the Young had annexed to the crown of Germany. On the death of Conrad I. (919), the choice of the states fell on Henry I., surnamed the Fowler, a scion of the Saxon

dynasty of the kings and emperors of Germany. It was to the valour and the wisdom of Henry I., and to his institutions, civil and military, that Germany was indebted for its renewed grandeur. That monarch, taking advantage of the intestine troubles which had arisen in France under Charles the Simple, recovered possession of the kingdom of Lorrain, the nobility of which made their submission to him in the years 923 and 925. By this union he extended the limits of Germany towards the west, as far as the Meuse and the Scheld. The kings of Germany afterwards divided the territory of Lorrain into two governments or duchies, called Upper and Lower Lorrain. The former, situated on the Moselle, was called the duchy of the Moselle; the other, bounded by the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheld, was known by the name of Lothiers or Brabant. These two duchies comprised all the provinces of the kingdom of Lorrain, except those which the emperors judged proper to exempt from the authority and jurisdiction of the dukes. The duchy of the Moselle, alone, finally retained the name of Lorrain; and passed (1048) to Gerard of Alsace, descended from the dukes of that name, who, in the eighteenth century, succeeded to the Imperial throne. As to the duchy of Lower Lorrain, the Emperor Henry V. conferred it on Godfrey, Count of Louvain (1106), whose male descendants kept possession of it, under the title of Dukes of Brabant, till 1355, when it passed by female succession to the Dukes of Burgundy, who found means also to acquire, by degrees, the greater part of Lower Lorrain, commonly called the Low Countries.

Henry I., a prince of extraordinary genius,

proved himself the true restorer of the German kingdom. The Slavonian tribes who inhabited the banks of the Saal, and the country between the Elbe and the Baltic, committed incessant ravages on the frontier provinces of the kingdom. With these he waged a successful war, and reduced them once more to the condition of tributaries. But his policy was turned chiefly against the Hungarians, who, since the reign of Louis II., had repeatedly renewed their incursions, and threatened to subject all Germany to their yoke. Desirous to repress effectually that ferocious nation, he took the opportunity of a nine years truce, which he had obtained with them, to construct new towns, and fortify places of strength. He instructed his troops in a new kind of tactics; accustomed them to military evolutions, and above all, he formed and equipped a cavalry sufficient to cope with those of the Hungarians, who particularly excelled in the art of managing horses. These depredators having returned with fresh forces at the expiry of the truce, he completely defeated them in two bloody battles, which he fought with them (933) near Sondershausen and Merseburg; and thus exonerated Germany from the tribute which it had formerly paid them.²

This victorious prince extended his conquests beyond the Eyder, the ancient frontier of Denmark. After a prosperous war with the Danes (931), he founded the margravate of Sleswick; which the Emperor Conrad II. afterwards ceded back (1033) to Canute the Great, King of Denmark.

Otho the Great, son and successor of Henry I., added the kingdom of Italy to the conquests of his father, and procured also the Imperial dignity

for himself, and his successors in Germany. Italy had become a distinct kingdom since the revolution, which happened (888) at the death of the Emperor Charles the Fat. Ten princes in succession occupied the throne during the space of seventy-three years. Several of these princes, such as Guy, Lambert, Arnulf, Louis of Burgundy, and Berenger I., were invested, at the same time, with the Imperial dignity. Berenger I. having been assassinated (924), this latter dignity ceased entirely, and the city of Rome was even dismembered from the kingdom of Italy.

The sovereignty of that city was seized by the famous Marozia, widow of a nobleman named Alberic. She raised her son to the pontificate by the title of John XI.; and the better to establish her dominion, she espoused Hugo King of Italy (932), who became, in consequence of this marriage, master of Rome. But Alberic, another son of Marozia, soon stirred up the people against this aspiring princess and her husband Hugo. Having driven Hugo from the throne, and shut up his mother in prison, he assumed to himself the sovereign authority, under the title of *Patrician of the Romans*. At his death (954), he transmitted the sovereignty to his son Octavian, who, though only nineteen years of age, caused himself to be elected pope, by the title of John XII.

This epoch was one most disastrous for Italy. The weakness of the government excited factions among the nobility, gave birth to anarchy, and fresh opportunity for the depredations of the Hungarians and Arabs, who, at this period, were the scourge of Italy, which they ravaged with impunity. Pavia, the capital of the kingdom, was ta-

ken and burnt by the Hungarians. These troubles increased on the accession of Berenger II. (950), grandson of Berenger I. That prince associated his son Adelbert with him in the royal dignity ; and the public voice accused them of having caused the death of King Lothaire, son and successor of Hugo.

Lothaire left a young widow, named Adelaide, daughter of Rodolph II., King of Burgundy and Italy. To avoid the importunities of Berenger II., who wished to compel her to marry his son Adelbert, this princess called in the King of Germany to her aid. Otho complied with the solicitations of the distressed queen ; and, on this occasion, undertook his first expedition into Italy (951). The city of Pavia, and several other places, having fallen into his hands, he made himself be proclaimed King of Italy, and married the young queen, his protégée. Berenger and his son, being driven for shelter to their strongholds, had recourse to negotiation. They succeeded in obtaining for themselves a confirmation of the royal title of Italy, on condition of doing homage for it to the King of Germany ; and for this purpose, they repaired in person to the diet assembled at Augsburg (952), where they took the oath of vassalage under the hands of Otho, who solemnly invested them with the royalty of Italy ; reserving to himself the towns and marches of Aquileia and Verona, the command of which he bestowed on his brother the Duke of Bavaria.

In examining more nearly all that passed in this affair, it appears that it was not without the regret, and even contrary to the wish of Adelaide,

that Otho agreed to enter into terms of accommodation with Berenger, and to ratify the compact which Conrad, Duke of Lorrain, and son-in-law of the Emperor, had made with that prince. Afterwards, however, he lent a favourable ear to the complaints which Pope John XII., and some Italian noblemen had addressed to him against Berenger and his son; and took occasion, on their account, to conduct a new army into Italy (961). Berenger, too feeble to oppose him, retired a second time within his fortifications. Otho marched from Pavia to Milan, and there made himself be crowned King of Italy; from thence he passed to Rome, about the commencement of the following year. Pope John XII., who had himself invited him, and again implored his protection against Berenger, gave him, at first, a very brilliant reception; and revived the Imperial dignity in his favour, which had been dormant for thirty-eight years.

It was on the 2d of February 962, that the Pope consecrated and crowned him Emperor; but he had soon cause to repent of this proceeding. Otho, immediately after his coronation at Rome, undertook the siege of St Leon, a fortress in Umbria, where Berenger and his Queen had taken refuge. While engaged in the siege, he received frequent intimations from Rome of the misconduct and immoralities of the Pope. The remonstrances which he thought it his duty to make on this subject, offended the young Pontiff, who resolved, in consequence, to break off union with the Emperor. Hurried on by the impetuosity of his character, he entered into a negociation with Adelbert; and even persuaded him to come to Rome, in order to concert with him measures of defence.

On the first news of this event, Otho put himself at the head of a large detachment, with which he marched directly to Rome. The Pope, however, did not think it advisable to wait his approach, but fled with the King, his new ally. Otho, on arriving at the capital, exacted a solemn oath from the clergy and the people, that henceforth they would elect no pope without his counsel, and that of the Emperor and his successors.² Having then assembled a council, he caused Pope John XII. to be deposed; and Leo VIII. was elected in his place. This latter Pontiff was maintained in the papacy, in spite of all the efforts which his adversary made to regain it. Berenger II., after having sustained a long siege at St Leon, fell at length (964) into the hands of the conqueror, who sent him into exile at Bamberg, and compelled his son, Adelbert, to take refuge in the court of Constantinople.

All Italy, to the extent of the ancient kingdom of the Lombards, fell under the dominion of the Germans; only a few maritime towns in Lower Italy, with the greater part of Apulia and Calabria, still remained in the power of the Greeks. This kingdom, together with the Imperial dignity, Otho transmitted to his successors on the throne of Germany. From this time the Germans held it to be an inviolable principle, that as the Imperial dignity was strictly united with the royalty of Italy, kings elected by the German nation should, at the same time, in virtue of that election, become kings of Italy and Emperors. The practice of this triple coronation, viz. of Germany, Italy, and Rome, continued for many centuries; and from Otho the Great, till Maximilian I. (1508), no king of Ger-

many took the title of Emperor, until after he had been formally crowned by the Pope.

The kings and emperors of the house of Saxony, did not terminate their conquests with the dominions of Lorrain and Italy. Towards the east and the north, they extended them beyond the Saal and the Elbe. All the Slavonian tribes between the Havel and the Oder; the Abotrites, the Rhedarians, the Wilzians, the Slavonians on the Havel, the Sorabians, the Dalemincians, the Luszians, the Milzians, and various others; the dukes also of Bohemia and Poland, although they often took up arms in defence of their liberty and independence, were all reduced to subjection, and again compelled to pay tribute. In order to secure their submission, the Saxon kings introduced German colonies into the conquered countries; and founded there several margravates, such as that of the North, on this side of the Elbe, afterwards called Brandenburg; and in the East, those of Misnia and Lusatia. Otho the Great adopted measures for promulgating Christianity among them. The bishopric of Oldenburg in Wagria, of Havelberg, Brandenburg, Meissen, Merseburg, Zeitz; those of Posnania or Posen, in Poland, of Prague in Bohemia; and lastly, the metropolis of Magdeburg, all owe their origin to this monarch. His grandson, the Emperor Otho III., founded (in 1000) the Archbishopric of Gnesna, in Poland, to which he subjected the bishoprics of Colberg, Cracow, and Breslau, reserving Posen to the metropolitan See of Magdeburg.

The Saxon dynasty became extinct (1024) with the Emperor Henry II. It was succeeded by that of Franconia, commonly called the *Salic*. Conrad

II., the first emperor of this house, united to the German crown, the kingdom of Burgundy; or, as it is sometimes called, the kingdom of Arles. This monarchy, situate between the Rhine the Reuss, Mount Jura, the Soane, the Rhone, and the Alps, had been divided among a certain number of counts, or governors of provinces, who, in consequence of the weakness of their last kings, Conrad and Rodolph III., had converted their temporary jurisdictions into hereditary and patrimonial offices, after the example of the French nobility, who had already usurped the same power. The principal and most puissant of these Burgundian nobles, were the Counts of Provence, Vienne, (afterwards called Dauphins of Vienne), Savoy, Burgundy, and Montbelliard; the Archbishop of Lyons, Besançon, and Arles, and the Bishop of Basle, &c. The contempt in which these powerful vassals held the royal authority, induced Rodolph to apply for protection to his kinsmen the Emperors Henry II. and Conrad II., and to acknowledge them, by several treaties, his heirs and successors to the crown. It was in virtue of these treaties, that Conrad II. took possession of the kingdom of Burgundy (1032) on the death of Rodolph III. He maintained his rights by force of arms against Eudes, Count of Champagne, who claimed to be the legitimate successor, as being nephew to the last king.

This reunion was but a feeble addition to the power of the German emperors. The bishops, counts, and great vassals of the kingdom they had newly acquired, still retained the authority which they had usurped in their several departments; and nothing was left to the emperors, but the exercise of

their feudal and proprietary rights, together with the slender remains of the demesne lands belonging to the last kings. It is even probable, that the high rank which the Burgundian nobles enjoyed, excited the ambition of those in Germany, and emboldened them to usurp the same prerogatives.

The Emperors Conrad II. (1033) and Henry III. (1038), were both crowned Kings of Burgundy. The Emperor Lothaire conferred the viceroyalty or regency on Conrad Duke of Zahringen, who then took the title of Governor or Regent of Burgundy. Berthold IV., son of Conrad, resigned (1156), in favour of the Emperor Frederic I., his rights of viceroyalty over that part of the kingdom situate beyond Mount Jura. Switzerland, at that time, was subject to the Dukes of Zahringen, who, in order to retain it in vassalage to their government, fortified Morges, Moudon, Yverdun, and Berthoud; and built the cities of Fribourg and Berne. On the extinction of the Zahringian dukes, (1191), Switzerland became an immediate province of the empire. It was afterwards (1218) formed into a republic; and the other parts of the kingdom of Burgundy or Arles were gradually united to France, as we shall see in course of our narrative.

The Hungarians, since their first invasion under Louis l'Enfant, had wrested from the German crown all its possessions in Pannonia, with a part of ancient Noricum; and the boundaries of Germany had been contracted within the river Ens in Bavaria. Their growing preponderance afterwards enabled the Germans to recover from the Hungarians a part of their conquests. They suc-

ceeded in expelling them, not only from Noricum, but even from that part of Upper Pannonia which lies between Mount Cetius, or Kahlenberg as it is called, and the river Leita. Henry III. secured the possession of these territories by the treaty of peace which he concluded (1043) with Samuel, surnamed Aba, King of Hungary. This part of Hungary was annexed to the Eastern Margravate, or Austria, which then began to assume nearly its present form.

Such then was the progressive aggrandisement of the German empire, from the reign of Henry I. to the year 1043. Under its most flourishing state, that is, under the Emperor Henry III., it embraced nearly two-thirds of the monarchy of Charlemagne. All Germany between the Rhine, the Eyder, the Oder, the Leita, and the Alps; all Italy, as far as the confines of the Greeks in Apulia and Calabria; Gaul, from the Rhine to the Scheldt, the Meuse, and the Rhone, acknowledged the supremacy of the emperors. The Dukes of Bohemia and Poland, were their tributaries; a dependence which continued until the commotions which agitated Germany put an end to it in the thirteenth century.

Germany, at this period, ranked as the ruling power in Europe; and this preponderance was not owing so much to the extent of her possessions, as to the vigour of her government, which still maintained a kind of system of political unity. The emperors may be regarded as true monarchs, dispensing, at their pleasure, all dignities, civil and ecclesiastical—possessing very large domains in all parts of the empire—and exercising, individually, various branches of the sovereign power;

—only, in affairs of great importance, asking the advice or consent of the *grandees*. This greatness of the German emperors gave rise to a system of polity which the Popes took great care to support with all their credit and authority. According to this system, the whole of Christendom composed, as it were, a single and individual republic, of which the Pope was the spiritual head, and the Emperor the secular. The duty of the latter, as head and patron of the Church, was to take cognizance that nothing should be done contrary to the general welfare of Christianity. It was his part to protect the Catholic Church, to be the guardian of its preservation, to convocate its general councils, and exercise such rights as the nature of his office and the interests of Christianity seemed to demand.

It was in virtue of this ideal system that the emperors enjoyed a precedency over other monarchs, with the exclusive right of electing kings; and that they had bestowed on them the title of masters of the world, and sovereign of sovereigns. A more important prerogative was that which they possessed in the election of the Popes. From Otho the Great to Henry IV., all the Roman pontiffs were chosen, or at least confirmed, by the emperors. Henry III. deposed three schismatical popes (1046), and substituted in their place a German, who took the name of Clement II. The same emperor afterwards nominated various other popes of his own nation.

However vast and formidable the power of these monarchs seemed to be, it was nevertheless far from being a solid and durable fabric; and it was easy to foresee that, in a short time, it would

crumble and disappear. Various causes conspired to accelerate its downfall; the first and principal of which necessarily sprang from the constitution of the empire, which was faulty in itself, and incompatible with any scheme of aggrandisement or conquest. A great empire, to prolong its durability, requires a perfect unity of power, which can act with despatch, and communicate with facility from one extremity to the other; an armed force constantly on foot, and capable of maintaining the public tranquillity; frontiers well defended against hostile invasion; and revenues proportioned to the exigencies of the state. All these characteristics of political greatness were wanting in the German empire.

That empire was elective; the states cooperated jointly with the emperors in the exercise of the legislative power. There were neither permanent armies, nor fortresses, nor taxation, nor any regular system of finance. The government was without vigour, incapable of protecting or punishing, or even keeping in subjection, its remote provinces, consisting of nations who differed in language, manners, and legislation. One insurrection, though quelled, was only the forerunner of others; and the conquered nations shook off the yoke with the same facility as they received it. The perpetual wars of the emperors in Italy, from the first conquest of that country by Otho the Great, prove, in a manner most evident, the strange imbecility of the government. At every change of reign, and every little revolution which happened in Germany, the Italians rose in arms, and put the emperors again to the necessity of reconquering that

kingdom ; which undoubtedly it was their interest to have abandoned entirely, rather than to lavish for so many centuries their treasures and the blood of their people to no purpose. The climate of Italy was also disastrous to the Imperial armies ; and many successions of noble German families found there a foreign grave.

An inevitable consequence of this vitiated constitution, was the decline of the royal authority, and the gradual increase of the power of the nobility. It is important, however, to remark, that in Germany the progress of the feudal system had been much less rapid than in France. The dukes, counts, and margraves, that is, the governors of provinces, and wardens of the marches, continued for long to be regarded merely as imperial officers, without any pretensions to consider their governments as hereditary, or exercise the rights of sovereignty. Even fiefs remained for many ages in their primitive state, without being perpetuated in the families of those to whom they had been originally granted.

A total change, however, took place towards the end of the eleventh century. The dukes and counts, become formidable by the extent of their power and their vast possessions, by degrees, constituted themselves hereditary officers ; and not content with the appropriation of their duchies and counties, they took advantage of the weakness of the emperors, and their quarrels with the popes, to extort from them new privileges, or usurp the prerogatives of royalty, formerly reserved for the emperors alone. The aristocracy, or landed proprietors, followed the example of the dukes and counts, and after the eleventh century, they all

began to play the part of sovereigns, styling themselves, in their public acts, *By the Grace of God*. At length fiefs became also hereditary. Conrad II. was the first emperor that permitted the transmission of fiefs to sons and grandsons; the succession of collateral branches was subsequently introduced. The system of hereditary feudalism became thus firmly established in Germany, and by a natural consequence, it brought on the destruction of the imperial authority, and the ruin of the empire.

Nothing, however, was more injurious to this authority than the extravagant power of the clergy, whom the emperors of the Saxon line had loaded with honours and benefactions, either from a zeal for religion, or with the intention of using them as a counterpoise to the ambition of the dukes and secular nobility. It was chiefly to Otho the Great that the bishops of Germany were indebted for their temporal power. That prince bestowed on them large grants of land from the imperial domains; he gave them towns, counties, and entire dukedoms, with the prerogatives of royalty, such as justiciary powers, the right of coining money, of levying tolls and other public revenues, &c. These rights and privileges he granted them under the feudal law, and on condition of rendering him military servitude. Nevertheless, as the disposal of ecclesiastical dignities belonged then to the crown, and fiefs had not, in general, become hereditary, the Emperor still retained possession of those which he conferred on the clergy; these he bestowed on whomsoever he judged proper; using them, however, always in conformity with his own views and interests.

The same policy that induced Otho to transfer to the bishops a large portion of his domains, led him also to intrust them with the government of cities. At that time, there was a distinction of towns into *royal* and *prefectorial*. The latter were dependent on the dukes, while the former, subject immediately to the king, gave rise to what has since been called *imperial cities*. It was in these royal cities that the German kings were in the practice of establishing counts and burgomasters or magistrates, to exercise in their name the rights of justice, civil and criminal, the levying of money, customs, &c. as well as other prerogatives usually reserved to the King. Otho conferred the counties, or governorships of cities where a bishop resided, on the bishops themselves, who, in process of time, made use of this new power to subject these cities to their own authority, and render them *mediate* and *episcopal*, instead of being *immediate* and *royal* as they were originally.

The successors of Otho, as impolitic as himself, imitated his example. In consequence of this, the possessions of the crown were, by degrees, reduced to nothing, and the authority of the emperors declined with the diminution of their wealth. The bishops, at first devoted to the emperors, both from necessity and gratitude, no sooner perceived their own strength, than they were tempted to make use of it, and to join the secular princes, in order to sap the imperial authority, as well as to consolidate their own power. To these several causes of the downfall of the empire must be added the new power of the Roman pontiffs, the origin of which is ascribed to Pope Gregory VII.

In the following Period, this matter will be treated more in detail ; meantime, we shall proceed to give a succinct view of the other states that figured during this epoch on the theatre of Europe.

The dynasty of the Omniades in Spain, founded about the middle of the eighth century, was overturned in the eleventh. An insurrection having happened at Cordova against the Caliph Hescham, that prince was dethroned (1030), and the caliphate ended with him. The governors of cities and provinces, and the principal nobility of the Arabs, formed themselves into independent sovereigns, under the title of kings ; and as many petty Mahometan States rose in Spain as there had been principal cities. The most considerable of these, were the kingdoms of Cordova, Seville, Toledo, Lisbon, Saragossa, Tortosa, Valencia, Murcia, &c. This partition of the caliphate of Cordova, enabled the princes of Christendom to aggrandize their own power at the expense of the Mahometans. Besides the kingdoms of Leon and Navarre, there existed in Spain at the commencement of the eleventh century, the county of Castille, which had been dismembered from the kingdom of Leon, and the county of Barcelona, which acknowledged the sovereignty of the Kings of France.

Sancho the Great, King of Navarre, had the fortune to unite in his own family all these different sovereignties, with the exception of Barcelona ; and as this occurred nearly at the same time with the destruction of the caliphate of Cordova, it would have been easy for the Christians to obtain a complete ascendancy over the Mahometans, if they had kept their forces united. But the King

of Navarre fell into the same mistake that had been so fatal to the Mahometans ; he divided his dominions among his sons (1035). Dón Garcias, the eldest, had Navarre, and was the ancestor of a long line of Navarrese kings ; the last of whom, John d'Albret was deposed (1512) by Ferdinand the Catholic. From Ferdinand, the younger son, King of Leon and Castille, were descended all the sovereigns of Castille and Leon down to Queen Isabella, who transferred these kingdoms (1474), by marriage, to Ferdinand the Catholic. Lastly, Don Ramira, natural son of Sancho, was the stem from whom sprung all the kings of Arragon, down to Ferdinand, who by his marriage with Isabella, happened to unite all the different Christian States in Spain ; and put an end also to the dominion of the Arabs and Moors in that peninsula.

In France the royal authority declined more and more, from the rapid progress which the feudal system made in that kingdom, after the feeble reign of Charles the Bald. The Dukes and the Counts, usurping the rights of royalty, made war on each other, and raised on every occasion the standard of revolt. The kings, in order to gain over some, and maintain others in their allegiance, were obliged to give up to them in succession every branch of the royal revenue ; so that the last Carlovingian princes were reduced to such a state of distress, that, far from being able to counter-balance the power of the nobility, they had hardly left wherewithal to furnish a scanty subsistence for their court. A change of dynasty became then indispensable ; and the throne, it was evident, must fall to the share of the most powerful and daring of its vassals. This event, which had long

been foreseen, happened on the death of Louis V., surnamed the Slothful (987), the last of the Carolingians, who died childless at the age of twenty.

Hugh Capet, great-grandson of Robert the Strong, possessed at that time the central parts of the kingdom. He was Count of Paris, Duke of France and Neustria; and his brother Henry was master of the duchy of Burgundy. It was not difficult for Hugh to form a party; and under their auspices he got himself proclaimed king at Noyon, and crowned at Rheims. Charles Duke of Lorraine, paternal uncle of the last king, and sole legitimate heir to the Carolingian line,³ advanced his claims to the crown; he seized, by force of arms, on Laon and Rheims; but being betrayed by the Bishop of Laon, and delivered up to his rival, he was confined in a prison at Orleans, where he ended his days (991).

Hugh, on mounting the throne, restored to the possession of the crown, the lands and dominions which had belonged to it between the Loire, the Seine, and the Meuse. His power gave a new lustre to the royal dignity, which he found means to render hereditary in his family; while at the same time he permitted the *grande*es to transmit to their descendants, male and female, the duchies and counties which they held of the crown, reserving to it merely the feudal superiority. Thus the feudal government was firmly established in France, by the hereditary tenure of the great fiefs; and that kingdom was in consequence divided among a certain number of powerful vassals, who rendered fealty and homage to their kings, and marched at their command on military expeditions;

but who nevertheless were nearly absolute masters in their own dominions, and often dictated the law to the sovereign himself. Hugh was the progenitor of the Capetian dynasty of French kings, so called from his own surname of Capet.

England, during the feeble reigns of the Anglo-Saxon princes, successors to Alfred the Great, had sunk under the dominion of priests and monks. The consequence was, the utter ruin of its finances, and its naval and military power. This exposed the kingdom afresh to the attacks of the Danes (991), who imposed on the English a tribute or tax, known by the name of Danegelt. Under the command of their kings Sueno or Sweyn I., and Canute the Great, they at length drove the Anglo-Saxon kings from their thrones, and made themselves masters of all England (1017). But the dominion of the Danes was only of short continuance. The English shook off their yoke, and conferred their crown on Edward the Confessor (1042) a prince of the royal blood of their ancient kings. On the death of Edward, Harold, Earl of Kent, was acknowledged King of England (1066); but he met with a formidable competitor in the person of William Duke of Normandy.

This prince had no other right to the crown, than that founded on a verbal promise of Edward the Confessor, and confirmed by an oath which Harold had given him while Earl of Kent. William landed in England (October 14th 1066), at the head of a considerable army, and having offered battle to Harold, near Hastings in Sussex, he gained a complete victory. Harold was killed in the action, and the conquest of all England was the reward of the victor. To secure himself in

his new dominions, William constructed a vast number of castles and fortresses throughout all parts of the kingdom, which he took care to fill with Norman garrisons. The lands and places of trust of which he had deprived the English, were distributed among the Normans, and other foreigners who were attached to his fortunes. He introduced the feudal law, and rendered fiefs hereditary; he ordered the English to be disarmed, and forbade them to have light in their houses after eight o'clock in the evening. He even attempted to abolish the language of the country, by establishing numerous schools for teaching the Norman-French; by publishing the laws, and ordering the pleadings in the courts of justice to be made in that language; hence it happened that the ancient British, combined with the Norman, formed a new sort of language, which still exists in the modern English. William thus became the common ancestor of the kings of England, whose right to the crown is derived from him, and founded on the Conquest.

About the time that William conquered England, another colony of the same Normans founded the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. The several provinces of which this kingdom was composed, were, about the beginning of the eleventh century, divided among the Germans, Greeks, and Arabians, ⁴ who were incessantly waging war with each other. A band of nearly a hundred Normans, equally covetous of war and glory, landed in that country (1016), and tendered their services to the Lombard princes, vassals of the German empire. The bravery which they displayed on various occasions, made these princes desirous

of retaining them in their pay, to serve as guardians of their frontiers against the Greeks and Arabians. The Greek princes very soon were no less eager to gain their services ; and the Duke of Naples, with the view of attaching them to his interest, ceded to them a large territory, where they built the city of Aversa, three leagues from Capua. The Emperor Conrad II. erected it into a county (1038), the investiture of which he granted to Rainulph, one of their chiefs.

At this same period the sons of Tancred conducted a new colony from Normandy into Lower Italy. Their arrival is generally referred to the year 1033 ; and tradition has assigned to Tancred a descent from Rollo or Robert I. Duke of Normandy. These new adventurers undertook the conquest of Apulia (1041), which they formed into a county, the investiture of which they obtained from Henry III. Robert Guiscard, one of the sons of Tancred, afterwards (1047) completed the conquest of that province ; he added to it that of Calabria, of which he had also deprived the Greeks (1059), and assumed the title of Duke of Apulia and Calabria.

To secure himself in his new conquests, as well as in those which he yet meditated from the two empires, Robert concluded a treaty the same year with Pope Nicholas II., by which that Pontiff confirmed him in the possession of the duchies of Apulia and Calabria ; granting him not only the investiture of these, but promising him also that of Sicily, whenever he should expel the Greeks and Arabians from it. Robert, in his turn, acknowledged himself a vassal of the Pope, and engaged to pay him an annual tribute of twelve

pence, money of Pavia, for every pair of oxen in the two duchies. ⁵ Immediately after this treaty, Robert called in the assistance of his brother Roger, to rescue Sicily from the hands of the Greeks and Arabs. ⁶ No sooner had he accomplished this object, than he conquered in succession the principalities of Bari, Salerno, Amalfi, Sorrento, and Benevento; this latter city he surrendered to the Pope.

Such is the origin of the duchies of Apulia and Calabria; which, after a lapse of some years, were formed into a kingdom under the name of the Two Sicilies.

As to the kingdoms of the North, the light of history scarcely began to dawn there until the introduction of Christianity, which happened about the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century. ⁷ The promulgation of the Gospel opened a way into the North for the diffusion of arts and letters. The Scandinavian states, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, which before that time were parcelled out among independent chiefs, began then to form plans of civil government, and to combine into settled monarchies. Their new religion, however, did not inspire these nations with its meek and peaceable virtues, nor overcome their invincible propensity to wars and rapine. Their heroism was a wild and savage bravery, which emboldened them to face all dangers, to undertake desperate adventures, and to achieve sudden conquests, which were lost and won with the same rapidity.

Harold, surnamed *Blaaland*, or Blue teeth, was the first sole monarch of the Danes, who with his son Sweyn received baptism, after being vanquish-

ed by Otho the Great (965). Sweyn relapsed to paganism ; but his son Canute the Great, on his accession to the throne (1014), made Christianity the established religion of his kingdom. He sent for monks from other countries, founded churches, and divided the kingdom into diocesses. Ambitious to distinguish himself as a conqueror, he afterwards subdued England and Norway (1028). To these he added a part of Scotland and Sweden ; and conferred in his own lifetime on one of his sons, named Sweyn, the kingdom of Norway, and on the other, named Hardicanute, that of Denmark. These acquisitions, however, were merely temporary. Sweyn was driven from Norway (1035) ; while England and Scotland also shook off the Danish yoke (1042), on the death of Hardicanute ; and Magnus King of Norway, even made himself master of Denmark, which did not recover its entire independence until the death of that prince (1047).

The ancient dynasty of Kings who occupied the throne of Denmark from the most remote ages, is known by the name of *Skioldungs*, because, according to a fabulous tradition, they were descended from *Skiold*, a pretended son of the famous Odin who, from being the conqueror, was exalted into the deity of the North. The kings who reigned after Sweyn II. were called *Estrithides*, from that monarch, who was the son of Ulf a Danish nobleman, and *Estrith*, sister to Canute the Great. It was this Sweyn that raised the standard of revolt against Magnus King of Norway (1044), and kept possession of the throne until his death.

In Sweden, the kings of the reigning family, descended, as is alleged, from Regner Lodbrok, took the title of Kings of Upsal, the place of their resi-

dence. Olaus Skotkonung changed this title into that of King of Sweden. He was the first monarch of his nation that embraced Christianity, and exerted himself to propagate it in his kingdom. Sigefroy, Archbishop of York, who was sent into Sweden by Ethelred King of England, baptized Olaus and his whole family (1001). The conversion of the Swedes would have been more expeditious, had not the zeal of Olaus been restrained by the Swedish Diet who decided for full liberty of conscience. Hence the strange mixture, both of doctrine and worship, that long prevailed in Sweden, where Jesus Christ was profanely associated with Odin, and the Pagan goddess Freya, confounded with the Virgin. Anund Jacques, son of Olaus, contributed much to the progress of Christianity; and his zeal procured him the title of *Most Christian King*.

In Norway, Olaus I., surnamed *Tryggueson*, towards the end of the tenth century, constituted himself the apostle and missionary of his people, and undertook to convert them to Christianity by torture and punishment. Iceland and Greenland⁸ were likewise converted by his efforts, and afterwards became his tributaries (1029). One of his successors, Olaus II., called the Fat, and also the Saint, succeeded in extirpating paganism from Norway (1020); but he used the cloak of religion, to establish his own authority, by destroying several petty kings, who before this time possessed each their own dominions.

Christianity was likewise instrumental in throwing some rays of light on the history of the Slavonian nations, by imparting to them the know-

ledge of letters, and raising them in the scale of importance among the civilized nations of Europe. The Slavonians who were settled north of the Elbe, had been subdued by the Germans, and compelled to embrace Christianity. The haughtiness and rigour of Thierry, Margrave of the North, induced them to shake off the yoke, and to concert a general insurrection, which broke out in the reign of Otho II. (982). The episcopal palaces, churches and convents, were destroyed; and the people returned once more to the superstitions of paganism. Those tribes that inhabited Brandenburg, part of Pomerania and Mecklenburg, known formerly under the name of Wilzians and Welatabes, formed themselves into a republican or federal body, and took the name of *Luitizians*. The Abotrites, on the contrary, the Polabes, and the Wagrians,⁹ were decidedly for a monarchical government, the capital of which was fixed at Mecklenburg. Some of the princes or sovereigns of these latter people were styled *Kings of the Venedi*. The result of this general revolt was a series of long and bloody wars between the Germans and Slavonians. The latter defended their civil and religious liberties with a remarkable courage and perseverance; and it was not till after the twelfth century, that they were subdued and reduced to Christianity by the continued efforts of the Dukes of Saxony, and the Margraves of the North, and by means of the crusades and colonies which the Germans despatched into their country.¹⁰

The first duke of Bohemia that received baptism from the hands, as is supposed, of Methodius, bishop of Moravia (894), was Borzivoy. His successors; however, returned to idolatry; and it

was not till near the end of the tenth century, properly speaking, and in the reign of Boleslaus II., surnamed the Pious, that Christianity became the established religion of Bohemia (999). These dukes were vassals and tributaries of the German empire; and their tribute consisted of 500 silver marks, and 120 oxen. They exercised, however, all the rights of sovereignty over the people; their reign was a system of terror, and they seldom took the opinion or advice of their nobles and grandees. The succession was hereditary in the reigning dynasty; and the system of partition was in use, otherwise the order of succession would have been fixed and permanent. Over a number of these partitionary princes, one was vested with certain rights of superiority, under the title of Grand Prince, according to a custom found very prevalent among the half civilized nations of the north and east of Europe.¹¹ The greater proportion of the inhabitants, the labouring classes, artisans, and domestics, were serfs, and oppressed by the tyrannical yoke of their masters. The public sale of men was even practised in Bohemia; the tithe, or tenth part of which, belonged to the sovereign. The descendants of Borzivoj possessed the throne of Bohemia until 1306, when the male line became extinct.

The Poles were a nation whose name does not occur in history before the middle of the tenth century; and we owe to Christianity the first intimations that we have regarding this people. Mieczislaus I., the first duke or prince of the Poles of whom we possess any authentic accounts, embraced Christianity (966), at the solicitation of his spouse Dambrowka, sister of Boleslaus II.,

duke of Bohemia. Shortly after, the first bishopric in Poland, that of Posen, was founded by Otho the Great. Christianity did not, however, tame the ferocious habits of the Poles, who remained for a long time without the least progress in mental cultivation.¹² Their government, as wretched as that of Bohemia, subjected the great body of the nation to the most debasing servitude. The ancient sovereigns of Poland were hereditary. They ruled most despotically, and with a rod of iron; and, although they acknowledged themselves vassals and tributaries of the German emperors, they repeatedly broke out into open rebellion, asserted their absolute independence, and waged a successful war against their masters. Boleslaus, son of Miecziſlaus I., took advantage of the troubles which rose in Germany on the death of Otho III., to possess himself of the Marches of Lusatia and Budissin, or Bautzen, which the emperor Henry II. afterwards granted him as fiefs. This same prince, in despite of the Germans, on the death of Henry II. (1025), assumed the royal dignity. Miecziſlaus II., son of Boleslaus, after having cruelly ravaged the country situate between the Oder, the Elbe, and the Saal, was compelled to abdicate the throne, and also to restore those provinces which his father had wrested from the Empire. The male descendants of Miecziſlaus I. reigned in Poland until the death of Casimir the Great (1370). This dynasty of kings is known by the name of the *Piasts*, or *Piasses*, so called from one *Piast*, alleged to have been its founder.

Silesia, which was then a province of Poland, received the light of the Gospel when it first visited that kingdom; and had for its apostle, as is sup-

posed, a Romish priest named Geoffry, who is reckoned the first bishop of Smogra (966).

In Russia, Vladimir the Great, great-grandson of Ruric, was the first grand duke that embraced Christianity, (988). He was baptized at Cherson in Taurida, on the occasion of his marriage with Anne Romanowna, sister of Basil II. and Constantine VIII., Emperors of Constantinople. It was this prince that introduced the Greek ritual into Russia, and founded several schools and convents. The alphabet of the Greeks was imported into Russia along with their religion; and from the reign of Vladimir, that nation, more powerful and united than most of the other European states, carried on a lucrative commerce with the Greek empire, of which it became at length a formidable rival.

At the death of that prince (1015), Russia comprehended those vast regions which, from east to west, extend from the Icy Sea and the mouth of the Dwina, to the Niemen, the Dniester, and the Bug; and southward of this last river, to the Carpathian Mountains, and the confines of Hungary and Moldavia. The city of Kiow on the Dnieper, was the capital of the empire, and the residence of the Grand Dukes. This period also gave rise to those unfortunate territorial partitions which, by dividing the Russian monarchy, exposed it to the insults and ravages of the neighbouring nations. Jaroslaus, one of the sons of Vladimir, made himself famous as a legislator, and supplied the Novogorodians with laws to regulate their courts of justice. No less the friend and protector of letters, he employed himself in translating

Greek books into the Slavonian language. He founded a public school at Novogorod, in which three hundred children were educated at his sole expense. His daughter Anne married Henry I., King of France; and this princess was the common mother of all the kings and princes of the Capetian dynasty.

Hungary was divided, in the tenth century, among several petty princes, who acknowledged a common chief, styled the Grand Prince, whose limited authority was reduced to a simple preeminence in rank and dignity. Each of these princes assembled armies, and made predatory excursions, plundering and ravaging the neighbouring countries at their pleasure. The East and the West suffered long under the scourge of these atrocious pillagers. Christianity, which was introduced among them about the end of the tenth century, was alone capable of softening the manners, and tempering the ferocity of this nation. Peregrine, bishop of Passau, encouraged by Otho the Great, and patronized by the Grand Prince Geisa, sent the first missionaries into Hungary (973). St Adelbert, bishop of Prague, had the honour to baptize the son of Geisa, called Waic (994), but who received then the baptismal name of Stephen.

This latter prince, having succeeded his father (997), changed entirely the aspect of Hungary. He assumed the royal dignity, with the consent of Pope Sylvester II., who sent him on this occasion the *Angelic Crown*,¹³ as it is called; the same, according to tradition, which the Hungarians use to this day in the coronation of their kings. At once the apostle and the lawgiver of his country; Stephen I. combined politics with justice, and

employed both severity and clemency in reforming his subjects. He founded several bishoprics, extirpated idolatry, banished anarchy, and gave to the authority of the sovereign, a vigour and efficiency which it never before possessed. To him likewise is generally ascribed the political division of Hungary into counties, as also the institution of palatines, and great officers of the crown. He conquered Transylvania, about 1002–3, according to the opinion of most modern Hungarian authors, and formed it into a distinct government, the chiefs of which, called *Vaivodes*, held immediately of his crown.

The history of the Greek empire presents, at this time, nothing but a tissue of corruption, fanaticism and perfidy. The throne, as insecure as that of the Western empire had been, was filled alternately by a succession of usurpers; most of whom rose from the lowest conditions of life, and owed their elevation solely to the perpetration of crime and parricide. A superstition gross in its nature, bound as with a spell the minds of the Greeks, and paralysed their courage. It was carefully cherished by the monks, who had found means to possess themselves of the government, by procuring the exclusion of the secular clergy from the episcopate; and directing the attention of princes to those theological controversies, often exceedingly frivolous, which were produced and reproduced almost without intermission.¹⁴ Hence originated those internal commotions and distractions, those schisms and sects, which more than once divided the empire, and shook the throne itself.

These theological disputes, the rivalry between

the two patriarchs of Rome and Constantinople, ¹⁵ and the contests respecting the Bulgarian converts, led to an irreparable schism between the churches of the East and the West. This controversy was most keenly agitated under the pontificate of John VIII., and when the celebrated Photius was patriarch of Constantinople; and in spite of the efforts which several of the Greek emperors and patriarchs afterwards made to effect a union with the Romish See, the animosity of both only grew more implacable, and ended at last in a final rupture between the two churches. A government so weak and so capricious as that of Constantinople, could not but be perpetually exposed to the inroads of foreign enemies. The Huns, Ostrogoths, Avars, Bulgarians, Russians, Hungarians, Chazars, and Patzinacites, harassed the empire on the side of the Danube; while the Persians ¹⁶ were incessantly exhausting its strength in the East, and on the side of the Euphrates. All these nations, however, were content with merely desolating the frontiers of the empire, and imposing frequent contributions on the Greeks. It was a task reserved for the Lombards, the Arabs, the Normans, and the Turks, to detach from it whole provinces, and by degrees to hasten its downfall.

The Lombards were the first that conquered from the Greeks the greater part of Italy. Palestine, Syria, and the whole possessions of the Empire in Greater Asia, as well as Egypt, Northern Africa, and the Isle of Cyprus, were seized in the seventh century by the Arabs, who made themselves masters of Sicily, and three times laid siege to Constantinople (669, 717, 719). They would have even succeeded in taking this Eastern capital,

and annihilating the Greek empire, had not the courage of Leo the Isaurian, and the surprising effects of the *Gregeois*, or Greek Fire,¹⁷ rendered their efforts useless. At length, in the eleventh century, the Normans conquered all that remained to the Greeks in Italy; while the Seljuk Turks, who must not be confounded with the Ottoman Turks, deprived them of the greater part of Asia Minor.

Turk is the generic appellation for all the Tartar nations,¹⁸ mentioned by the ancients under the name of Scythians. Their original country was in those vast regions situate to the north of Mount Caucasus, and eastward of the Caspian Sea, beyond the Jihon, or Oxus of the ancients, especially in Charasm, Transoxiana, Turkestan, &c. About the eighth century, the Arabs had passed the Oxus, and rendered the Turks of Charasm and Transoxiana their tributaries. They instructed them in the religion and laws of Mahomet; but, by a transition rather extraordinary, it afterwards happened, that the vanquished imposed the yoke on their new masters.

The empire of the Arabs, already enfeebled by the territorial losses which have been mentioned, declined more and more, from about the middle of the ninth century. The Caliphs of Bagdad had committed the mistake of trusting their persons to a military guard of foreigners,¹⁹ viz. the Turks, who, taking advantage of the effeminacy of these princes, soon arrogated to themselves the whole authority, and abused it so far, as to leave the Caliphs entirely dependent on their will, and to vest in themselves the hereditary succession of the government. Thus, in the very centre of the

caliphate of Bagdad, there rose a multitude of new sovereignties or dynasties, the heads of which, under the title of *Emir* or Commander, exercised the supreme power; leaving nothing more to the Caliph than a preeminence of dignity, and that rather of a spiritual than a temporal nature. Besides the external marks of homage and respect which were paid him, his name continued to be proclaimed in the mosques, and inscribed on the coined money. By him were granted all letters-patent of investiture, robes, swords, and standards, accompanied with high-sounding titles; which did not, however, prevent these usurpers from maltreating their ancient masters, insulting their person, or even attempting their lives, whenever it might serve to promote their interest.

A general revolution broke out under the caliph Rahdi. That prince, wishing to arrest the progress of usurpation, thought of creating a new minister, whom he invested with the title of *Emiral-Omra*, or Commander of Commanders; and conferred on him powers much more ample than those of his vizier. This minister, whom he selected from the Emirs, officiated even in the grand mosque of Bagdad, instead of the caliph; and his name was pronounced with equal honours in the divine service throughout the empire. This device, which the caliph employed to reestablish his authority, only tended to accelerate its destruction. The Bowides, the most powerful dynasty among the Emirs, arrogated to themselves the dignity of Chief Commander (945), and seized both the city and the sovereignty of Bagdad. The Caliph, stript of all temporal power, was then only grand Imán, or sovereign-pontiff of the Mussulman reli-

gion, under the protection of the Bowidian prince, who kept him as his prisoner at Bagdad.

Such was the sad situation of the Arabian empire, fallen from its ancient glory, when a numerous Turkish tribe, from the centre of Turkestan, appeared on the stage, overthrew the dominions of the Bowides; and, after imposing new fetters on the caliphs, laid the foundation of a powerful empire, known by the name of the Seljukides. This roving tribe, which took its name from Seljuk a Mussulman Turk, after having wandered for some time with their flocks in Transoxiana, passed the Jihon to seek pasturage in the province of Chorasan. Reinforced by new Turkish colonies from Transoxiana, this coalition became in a little time so powerful, that Togrul Beg, grandson of Seljuk, had the boldness to make himself be proclaimed Sultan in the city of Niesabur, ²⁰ the capital of Chorasan, and formally announced himself as a conqueror (1038). This prince, and the sultans his successors, subdued by degrees most of the provinces in Asia, which formed the caliphate of Bagdad.²¹ They annihilated the power of the Bowides, reduced the Caliphs to the condition of dependents, and at length attacked also the possessions of the Greek empire.

Alp-Arslan, the nephew and immediate successor of Togrul Beg, gained a signal victory in Armenia, over the Emperor Romanus Diogenes (1071) who was there taken prisoner. The confusion which this event caused in the Greek empire, was favourable to the Turks, who seized not only what remained to the Greeks in Syria, but also several provinces in Asia Minor, such as Cilicia, Isauria, Pamphylia, Lycia, Pisidia, Lycaonia, Cappadocia, Galatia, Pontus, and Bythinia.

The empire of the Seljukides was in its most flourishing state under the sultan Malek Shah, the son and successor of Alp-Arslan. The caliph Cayem, in confirming to this prince the title of Sultan and Chief Commander, added also that of *Commander of the Faithful*, which before that time had never been conferred but on the caliphs alone. On the death of Malek (1092), the disputes that rose among his sons occasioned a civil war, and the partition of the empire. These vast territories were divided among three principal dynasties descended from Seljuk, those of Iran, Kerman, and *Roum* or Rome. This latter branch, which ascribes its origin to Soliman, great-grandson of Seljuk, obtained the provinces of Asia Minor, which the Seljukides had conquered from the Greeks. The princes of this dynasty are known in the history of the Crusades by the name of Sultans of Iconium or Cogni, a city of Lycaonia, where the sultans established their residence after being deprived by the crusaders of the city of Nice in Bythinia. The most powerful of the three dynasties was that of the Seljukides of Iran, whose sway extended over the greater part of Upper Asia. It soon, however, fell from its grandeur, and its states were divided into a number of petty sovereignties, over which the Emirs or governors of cities and provinces usurped the supreme power. ²² These divisions prepared the way for the conquests of the crusaders in Syria and Palestine; and furnished also to the Caliphs of Bagdad the means of shaking off the yoke of the Seljukides (1152), and recovering the sovereignty of Irak-Arabia, or Bagdad.

REVOLUTIONS OF EUROPE.

CHAPTER V.

PERIOD IV.

FROM POPE GREGORY VII. TO BONIFACE VIII.

A. D. 1074—1300.

A NEW and powerful monarchy rose on the ruins of the German empire, that of the Roman Pontiffs ; which monopolized both spiritual and temporal dominion, and extended its influence over all the kingdoms of Christendom. This supremacy, whose artful and complicated mechanism is still an object of astonishment to the most subtle politicians, was the work of Pope Gregory VII., a man born for great undertakings, as remarkable for his genius, which raised him above his times, as for the austerity of his manners and the boundless reach of his ambition. Indignant at the depravity of the age, which was immersed in ignorance and vice, and at the gross immorality which pervaded all classes of society, both laymen and ecclesiastics, Gregory resolved to become the re-

former of morals, and the restorer of religion. To succeed in this project, it was necessary to replace the government of kings, which had totally lost its power and efficiency, by a new authority, whose salutary restraints, imposed alike on the high and the low, might restore vigour to the laws, put a stop to licentiousness, and impose a reverence on all by the sanctity of its origin. This authority was the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, of which Gregory was at once the creator and inventor.

This extraordinary person, who was the son of a carpenter at Saona in Tuscany, named Bonizone, or according to others, descended of a Roman family, had paved the way to his future greatness under the preceding pontiffs, whose counsels he had directed under the title of Cardinal Hildebrand. While Cardinal, he engaged Pope Nicolas II. to enter into a treaty with Robert Guiscard (1059), for procuring that brave Norman as an ally and a vassal of the Holy See. Taking advantage, likewise, of the minority of Henry IV., he caused, this same year, in a council held at Rome, the famous decree to be passed, which, by reserving the election of the pontiffs principally to the cardinals, converted the elective privileges which the emperors formerly enjoyed in virtue of their crown rights, into a personal favour granted by the Pope, and emanating from the court of Rome.

On the death of Pope Nicolas II., Cardinal Hildebrand procured the election of Alexander II., without waiting for the order or concurrence of the Imperial court; and he succeeded in maintaining him in the apostolical chair against Pope Honorius II., whom the reigning empress had destined for that honour. At length, being raised him-

self to the pontifical throne, scarcely had he obtained the Imperial confirmation, when he put in execution the project which he had so long been concerting and preparing, viz. the erecting of a spiritual despotism,¹ extending to priests as well as kings; making the supreme pontiff the arbiter in all affairs, both civil and ecclesiastical—the bestower of favours, and the dispenser of crowns. The basis of this dominion was, that the Vicar of Jesus Christ ought to be superior to all human power. The better to attain his object, he began by withdrawing himself and his clergy from the authority of the secular princes.

At that time the city of Rome, and the whole ecclesiastical states, as well as the greater part of Italy, were subject to the kings of Germany, who, in virtue of their being kings of Italy and Roman emperors, nominated or confirmed the popes, and installed the prefects of Rome, who there received the power of the sword in their name. They sent also every year commissioners to Rome, to levy the money due to the royal treasury. The popes used to date their acts from the years of the emperor's reign, and to stamp their coin with his name; and all the higher clergy were virtually bound and subject to the secular power, by the solemn investiture of the ring and the crosier. This investiture gave to the emperors and the other sovereigns the right of nominating and confirming bishops, and even of deposing them if they saw cause. It gave them, moreover, the right of conferring, at their pleasure, those fiefs and royal prerogatives which the munificence of princes had vested in the Church. The emperors, in putting bishops and prelates in possession of these fiefs,

used the symbols of the ring and the crosier, which were badges of honour belonging to bishops and abbots. They made them, at the same time, take the oath of fidelity and allegiance; and this was the origin of their dependence, and their obligation to furnish their princes with troops, and to perform military service.

Gregory VII. prohibited, under pain of excommunication, all sovereigns to exercise the rights of investiture, by a formal decree which he published in a council assembled at Rome in 1074. There was more than the simple ceremony of the ring and the crosier implied in this interdict. He aimed at depriving princes of the right of nominating, confirming, or deposing prelates, as well as of receiving their fealty and homage, and exacting military service. He thus broke all those ties by which the bishops were held in allegiance and subordination to princes; making them, in this respect, entirely independent. In suppressing investitures, the pontiff had yet a more important object in view. It was his policy to withdraw both himself and his successors, as well as the whole ecclesiastical state, from the power of the German kings; especially by abolishing the right which these princes had so long exercised of nominating and confirming the Popes. He saw, in fact, that if he could succeed in rendering the clergy independent of the secular power, it would follow, by a natural consequence, that the Pope, as being supreme head of the clergy, would no longer be dependent on the emperors; while the emperor, excluded from the nomination and investiture of bishops, would have still less right to interfere in the election of pontiffs.

This affair, equally interesting to all sovereigns, was of the utmost importance to the kings of Germany, who had committed the unfortunate error of putting the greater part of their domains into the hands of ecclesiastics; so that to divest those princes of the right to dispose of ecclesiastical fiefs, was in fact to deprive them of nearly the half of their empire. The bishops, vainly flattering themselves with the prospect of an imaginary liberty, forgot the valuable gifts with which the emperors had loaded them, and enlisted under the banners of the Pope. They turned against the secular princes those arms which the latter had imprudently trusted in their hands.

There yet subsisted another bond of union which connected the clergy with the civil and political orders of society, and gave them an interest in the protection of the secular authority, and that was, the marriages of the priests; a custom in use at that time over a great part of the West, as it still is in the Greek and Eastern Churches. It is true, that the law of celibacy, already recommended strongly by St Augustine, had been adopted by the Romish Church, which neglected no means of introducing it by degrees into all the churches of the Catholic communion. It had met with better success in Italy and the south of Europe than in the northern countries; and the priests continued to marry, not only in Germany, England, and the kingdoms of the North, but even in France, Spain, and Italy, notwithstanding the law of celibacy, which had been sanctioned in vain by a multitude of councils.

Gregory VII., perceiving that, to render the

clergy completely dependent on the Pope, it would be necessary to break this powerful connexion, renewed the law of celibacy, in a council held at Rome (1074); enjoining the married priests either to quit their wives, or renounce the sacerdotal order. The whole clergy murmured against the unfeeling rigour of this decree, which even excited tumult and insurrection in several countries of Germany; and it required all the firmness of Gregory and his successors to abolish clerical marriages, and establish the law of celibacy throughout the Western churches.² In thus dissolving the secular ties of the clergy, it was far from the intention of Gregory VII. to render them independent. His designs were more politic, and more suitable to his ambition. He wished to make the clergy entirely subservient to his own elevation, and even to employ them as an instrument to humble and subdue the power of the princes.

The path had already been opened up to him by the *False Decretals*, as they were called, forged about the beginning of the ninth century, by the famous impostor Isidore, who, with the view of diminishing the authority of the metropolitans, advanced in these letters, which he attributed to the early bishops of Rome, a principle whose main object was to extend the rights of the Romish See, and to vest in the popes a jurisdiction till then unknown in the church. Several Popes before Gregory VII. had already availed themselves of these False Decretals;³ and they had even been admitted as true into different collections of canons. Gregory did not content himself with rigidly enforcing the principles of the impostor Isi-

dore. He went even farther; he pretended to unite, in himself, the plenary exercise both of the ecclesiastical and episcopal power; leaving nothing to the archbishops and bishops but the simple title of his lieutenants or vicars. He completely undermined the jurisdiction of the metropolitans and bishops, by authorizing in all cases an appeal to the Court of Rome; reserving to himself exclusively the cognizance of all causes termed *major*—including more especially the privilege of judging and deposing of bishops. This latter privilege had always been vested in the provincial councils, who exercised it under the authority, and with the consent of the secular powers. Gregory abolished this usage; and claimed for himself the power of judging the bishops, either in person or by his legates, to the exclusion of the Synodal Assemblies. He made himself master of these assemblies, and even arrogated the exclusive right of convoking General Councils.

This pontiff, in a council which he held at Rome (1079), at length prescribed a new oath, which the bishops were obliged to take; the main object of which was not merely canonical obedience, but even fealty and homage, such as the prelates, as lieges, vowed to their sovereigns; and which the pontiff claimed for himself alone, bearing that they should aid and defend, against the whole world, his new supremacy, and what he called the *royal rights of St Peter*. Although various sovereigns maintained possession of the homage they received from their bishops, the oath imposed by Gregory nevertheless retained its full force; it was even augmented by his successors, and extended to all bishops without distinction, in spite of its

inconsistency with that which the bishops swore to their princes.

Another very effectual means which Gregory VII. made use of to confirm his new authority, was to send, more frequently than his predecessors had done, legates into the different states and kingdoms of Christendom. He made them a kind of governors of provinces, and invested them with the most ample powers. These legates soon obtained a knowledge of all the affairs of the provinces delegated to their care; which greatly impaired the authority of the metropolitans and provincial councils, as well as the jurisdiction of the bishops. A clause was also inserted, in the form of the oath imposed on the bishops, which obliged them to furnish maintenance and support for these legates; a practice which subsequently gave place to frequent exactions and impositions on their part.

While occupied with the means of extending his power over the clergy, Gregory did not let slip any opportunity of making encroachments on the authority of princes and sovereigns, which he represented as subordinate to that of the Church and the Pope. As supreme head of the Church, he claimed a right of inspection over all kings and their governments. He deemed himself authorized to address admonitions to them, as to the method of ruling their kingdoms; and to demand of them an account of their conduct. By and by, he presumed to listen to the complaints of subjects against their princes, and claimed the right of being a judge or arbiter between them. In this capacity he acted towards Henry IV., emperor of Germany, who enjoyed the rights of sovereignty

over Rome and the Pope. He summoned him to Rome (1076), for the purpose of answering before the synod to the principal accusations which the nobles of Saxony, engaged in disputes with that prince, had referred to the Pope. The emperor, burning with indignation, and hurried on by the impetuosity of youth, instantly convoked an assembly of bishops at Worms, and there caused the pontiff to be deposed. No sooner was this sentence conveyed to Rome, and read in presence of the Pope in a council which he had assembled, than Gregory ventured on a step till then quite unheard of. He immediately thundered a sentence of excommunication and deposition against the Emperor, which was addressed to St Peter, and couched in the following terms :—

“ In the name of Almighty God, I suspend and interdict from governing the kingdom of Germany and Italy, Henry, son of the emperor Henry, who, with a haughtiness unexampled, has dared to rebel against thy church. I absolve all Christians whatever from the oath which they have taken, or shall hereafter take, to him ; and henceforth none shall be permitted to do him homage or service as king ; for he who would disobey the authority of thy Church, deserves to lose the dignity with which he is invested. And seeing this prince has refused to submit as a Christian, and has not returned to the Lord whom he hath forsaken, holding communion with the excommunicated, and despising the advice which I tendered him for the safety of his soul, I load him with curses in thy name, to the end that people may know, even by experience, that thou art Peter, and that on this rock the Son of the living God has built his church ;

and that the gates of hell shall never prevail against it."

This measure, which seemed at first to have been merely the effect of the pontiff's impetuosity, soon discovered of what importance it was for him to persevere, and what advantage he might derive from it. In humbling the emperor, the most powerful monarch in Europe, he might hope that all the other sovereigns would bend before him. He omitted nothing, therefore, that might serve to justify his conduct, and endeavoured to prove, by sophistries, that if he had authority to excommunicate the emperor, he might likewise deprive him of his dignity; and that the right to release subjects from their oath of allegiance was an emanation and a natural consequence of the power of the Keys. The same equivocal interpretation he afterwards made use of in a sentence which he published against the same prince (1080), and which he addressed to the Apostles St Peter and St Paul, in these terms: "You, fathers and princes of the apostles, hereby make known to the whole world, that if you can bind and unbind in heaven, you can much more, on earth, take from all men empires, kingdoms, principalities, duchies, marquisates, counties, and possessions, of whatsoever nature they may be. You have often deprived the unworthy of patriarchates, primacies, archbishoprics, and bishoprics, to give them to persons truly religious. Hence, if you preside over spiritual affairs, does not your jurisdiction extend *a fortiori* to temporal and secular dignities? and if you judge the angels who rule over princes and potentates, even the haughtiest, will you not also judge their slaves? Let then the kings and princes

of the earth learn how great and irresistible is your power ! Let them tremble to condemn the commands of your church ! And do you, blessed Peter, and blessed Paul, exercise, from this time forward, your judgment on Henry, that the whole earth may know that he has been humbled, not by any human contingencies, but solely by your power." Until that time, the emperors had exercised the right of confirming the Popes, and even of deposing them, should there be occasion ; but, by a strange reverse of prerogatives, the popes now arrogated to themselves the confirmation of the emperors, and even usurped the right of dethroning them.

However irregular this step of the pontiff might be, it did not fail to produce the intended effect. In an assembly of the Imperial States, held at Tribur (1076), the emperor could only obtain their consent to postpone their proceeding to a new election, and that on the express condition of his submitting himself to the judgment of the Pope, and being absolved immediately from the excommunication he had incurred. In consequence of this decision of the States, Henry crossed the Alps in the middle of winter, to obtain reconciliation with the Pope, who then resided with the famous Countess Matilda, at her Castle of Canossa, in the Modenese territory. Absolution was not granted him, however, except under conditions the most humiliating. He was compelled to do penance in an outer court of the castle, in a woollen shirt and barefooted, for three successive days, and afterwards to sign whatever terms the pontiff chose to prescribe. This extraordinary spectacle must have spread consternation among the sovereigns

of Europe, and made them tremble at the censures of the Church.

After this, Gregory VII. exerted his utmost influence to engage all sovereigns, without distinction, to acknowledge themselves his vassals and tributaries. "Let not the emperor imagine," says he, in a letter which he wrote to the German nation, "that the church is subject to him as a slave, but let him know that she is set over him as a sovereign." From that time the pontiff regarded the empire as a fief of his church; and afterwards when setting up a rival emperor to Henry IV., in the person of Hermann of Luxemburg, he exacted from him a formal oath of vassalage. Gregory pursued the same conduct in regard to the other sovereigns of Europe. Boleslaus II., King of Poland, having killed Stanislaus Bishop of Cracow, who had ventured to excommunicate him, the pontiff took occasion from this to depose that prince; releasing all his subjects from their oath of fidelity, and even prohibiting the Polish bishops henceforth to crown any king without the express consent of the Pope.

This aspiring pontiff stuck at nothing; he regarded nothing, provided he could obtain his object. However contrary the customs of former times were to his pretensions, he quoted them as examples of authority, and with a boldness capable of imposing any thing on weak and ignorant minds. It was thus that, in order to oblige the French nation to pay him the tax of one penny each house, he alleged the example of Charlemagne, and pretended that that prince had not merely paid this tribute, but even granted Saxony as a fief to St Peter; as he had conquered it with

the assistance of that apostle. In writing to Philip I. of France, he expressed himself in these terms: "Strive to please St Peter, who has thy kingdom as well as thy soul in his power; and who can bind thee, and absolve in heaven as well as on earth." And in a letter which he addressed to the Princes of Spain, he attempted to persuade them, that the kingdom of Spain, being originally the property of the Holy See, they could not exonerate themselves from paying him a tax on all the lands they had conquered from the Infidels.

He affirmed to Solomon, King of Hungary, that Stephen I., on receiving his crown at the hands of Pope Silvester II., had surrendered his kingdom as free property to the Holy See; and that, in virtue of this donation, his kingdom was to be considered as a part of the domain of the church. He wrote in exactly the same style to Geysa his immediate successor. In one of his letters to Sueno, King of Denmark, he enjoins him to deliver up his kingdom to the power of the Romish See. He refused (1076), to grant the royal dignity to Demetrius Swinimir, Duke of Croatia and Dalmatia, except on the express condition, that he should do him homage for his kingdom, and engage to pay the Pope an annual tribute of two hundred golden pieces of Byzantium. This pontiff had the art of disguising his ambition so dexterously, under the mask of justice and piety, that he prevailed with various other sovereigns to acknowledge themselves his vassals. Bertrand, Count of Provence, transferred to him his fealty and homage, to the prejudice of those feudal obligations he owed to the Empire. Several princes

of Italy and Germany, influenced by artifice or intimidation, abandoned the emperor, and put themselves under submission to the Pope. His efforts were not equally successful with William the Conqueror, King of England, whom he had politely invited by letter, to do him homage for his kingdom, after the manner of his royal predecessors. That prince, too wise to be duped by papal imposition, replied, that he was not in a humour to perform homage which he had never promised, and which he was not aware had ever been performed by any of his predecessors.

The successors of Gregory VII., followed in the path he had opened up ; giving their utmost support to all his maxims and pretensions. In consequence, a very great number of the princes of Christendom, some intimidated by the thunders of ecclesiastical anathemas, others with a view to secure for themselves the protection of the Holy See, acknowledged these usurped powers of the Popes. The Kings of Portugal, Arragon, England, Scotland, Sardinia, the two Sicilies, and several others, became, in course of time, vassals and tributaries to the Papal See ; and there is not a doubt, that the universal monarchy, the scheme of which Gregory VII. had conceived, would have been completely established, if some of his successors had been endowed with his vast ambition, and his superior genius.

In every other respect, circumstances were such as to hasten and facilitate the progress of this new pontifical supremacy. It had commenced in a barbarous age, when the whole of the Western world was covered with the darkness of ignorance ; and when mankind knew neither the just rights of

sovereignty, nor the bounds which reason and equity should have set to the authority of the priesthood. The court of Rome was then the only school where politics were studied, and the Popes the only monarchs that put them in practice. An extravagant superstition, the inseparable companion of ignorance, held all Europe in subjection; the Popes were revered with a veneration resembling that which belongs only to the Deity; and the whole world trembled at the utterance of the single word *Excommunication*. Kings were not sufficiently powerful to oppose any successful resistance to the encroachments of Rome; their authority was curtailed and counteracted by that of their vassals, who seized with eagerness every occasion which the Popes offered them, to aggrandize their own prerogatives at the expense of the sovereign authority.

The Emperor of Germany, who was alone able to countervail this new spiritual tyranny, was at open war with his grand vassals, whose usurpations he was anxious to repress; while they, disrespecting the majesty of the throne, and consulting only their own animosity against the emperor, blindly seconded the pretensions of the pontiff. The emperor, however, did all in his power to oppose a barrier to this torrent of ecclesiastical despotism; but the insolence of Gregory became so extravagant, that, not content to attack him with spiritual weapons, he set up rival emperors, and excited intestine wars against him; and his successors even went so far as to arm the sons against their own father. Such was the origin of the contests which arose between the Empire and the Papacy, under the reign of Henry IV., and

which agitated both Germany and Italy for a period of several centuries. They gave birth, also, to the two factions of the Guelphs and the Ghibellines, the former Imperial, and the other Papal, who for a long course of time tore each other to pieces with inconceivable fury.

Henry V., son and successor of Henry IV., terminated the grand dispute about the investitures of the ring and the crosier. By the Concordat which he concluded at Worms (1122) with Pope Calixtus II., he renounced the ceremony of the ring and the cross; and granting to the churches free liberty of election, he reserved nothing to himself, except the privilege of sending commissioners to the elections, and giving to the newly elected prelates, after consecration, the investiture of the regalian rights, by means of the sceptre, instead of the ring and crosier. The ties of vassalage which connected the bishops with the emperors, were still preserved by this transaction, contrary to the intentions of Gregory VII.; but the emperors being obliged to approve of the persons whom the Church should hereafter present, lost their chief influence in the elections, and were no longer entitled, as formerly, to grant or refuse investiture.

These broils with the court of Rome, the check which they gave to the Imperial authority, joined to the increasing abuses of the feudal system, afforded the princes and states of the Empire the means of usurping the heritable succession of their duchies, counties, and fiefs; and of laying the foundations of a new power, which they afterwards exercised under the name of territorial superiority. Frederic II., compelled by the pres-

sure of events, was the first emperor that sanctioned the territorial rights of the states by charters, which he delivered to several princes, secular and ecclesiastic, in the years 1220 and 1232. The Imperial dignity thus lost its splendour with the power of the emperors ; and the constitution of the Empire was totally changed. That vast monarchy degenerated by degrees into a kind of federal system ; and the Emperor, in course of time, became only the common chief, and superior over the numerous vassals of which that association was composed. The extraordinary efforts made by the Emperors Frederic I. and II. of the house of Hohenstaufen, ⁴ to reestablish the tottering throne of the empire, ended in nothing ; and that House, one of the most powerful in Europe, was deprived of all its crowns, and persecuted even to the scaffold.

The empire thus fell into gradual decay, while the pontifical power, rising on its ruins, gained, day by day, new accessions of strength. The successors of Gregory VII. omitted nothing that policy could suggest to them, in order to humble more and more the dignity of the Emperors, and to bring them into a state of absolute dependence, by arrogating to themselves the express right of confirming, and even of deposing them ; ⁵ and compelling them to acknowledge their feudal superiority. Being thus no longer obliged to submit their election to the arbitration of the Imperial court, the ambitious pontiffs soon aspired to absolute sovereignty.

The custom of dating their acts, and coining their money with the stamp and name of the em-

peror, disappeared after the time of Gregory VII.; and the authority which the emperors had exercised at Rome, ceased entirely with the loss of the prefecture or government of that city ; which Pope Innocent III. took into his own hands (1198), obliging the prefect of Rome to swear the usual oath of homage to the Apostolic See, which that magistrate owed to the emperor, from whom he received the prefecture. Hence it happened, that the chiefs of the Empire, obliged to compromise with a power which they had learned to dread, had no longer any difficulty in recognising the entire independence of the Popes ; even formally renouncing the rights of high sovereignty which their predecessors had enjoyed, not only over Rome, but over the Ecclesiastical States. The domains of the church were likewise considerably increased by the acquisitions which Innocent III. made of the March of Ancona, and the duchy of Spoleto ; as well as by the personal property or *Patrimony of the Countess Matilda*,⁶ which the Emperor Frederic II. ceded to Honorius III. (1220), and which his successors in the Apostolic chair formed into the province known by the name of the *Patrimony of St Peter*.

One of the grand means which the Popes employed for the advancement of their new authority, was the multiplication of Religious Orders, and the way in which they took care to manage these corporations. Before the time of Gregory VII., the only order known in the West was that of the Benedictines, divided into several families or congregations. The rule of St Benedict, prescribed at the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle (817) to all monks within the empire of the Franks, was the

only one allowed by the Romish Church; just as that of St Basil was, and still is, the only one practised in the East by the Greek Church. The first of these newly invented orders was that of Grammont in Limosin (1073), authorized by Pope Gregory VII. This was followed, in the same century, by the order of Chartreux, and that of St Antony.⁷ The Mendicant orders took their rise under Innocent III., near the end of the twelfth, and beginning of the thirteenth century. Their number increased in a short time so prodigiously, that, in 1274, they could reckon twenty-three orders. The complaints which were raised on this subject from all parts of Christendom, obliged Pope Gregory to reduce them, at the Council of Lyons, to four orders, viz. the Hermits of St William or Augustines, Carmelites, the Minor or Franciscan friars, and the Preaching or Dominican friars. The Popes, perceiving that they might convert the monastic orders, and more particularly the mendicants, into a powerful engine for strengthening their own authority, and keeping the secular clergy in subjection, granted by degrees to these fraternities, immunities and exemptions tending to withdraw them from the jurisdiction of the bishops, and to emancipate them from every other authority, except that of their Heads, and the Popes. They even conferred on them various privileges, such as those of preaching, confession, and instructing the young; as being the most likely means to augment their credit and their influence. The consequence was, that the monks were frequently employed by the Popes in quality of legates and missionaries; they were feared and respected by sovereigns, singularly revered by the people, and

let slip no occasion of exalting a power to which alone they owed their promotion, their respectability, and all the advantages they enjoyed.

Of all the successors of Gregory VII., he who resembled him most in the superiority of his genius, and the extent of his knowledge, was Innocent III., who was of the family of the Counts of Segni, and elevated to the pontificate at the age of 37. He was as ambitious as that pontiff, and equally fertile in resources; and he even surpassed him in the boldness of his plans, and the success of his enterprises. Innocent announced himself as *the successor of St Peter, set up by God to govern not only the Church, but the whole world.* It was this Pope who first made use of the famous comparison about the sun and the moon: *As God (says he) has placed two great luminaries in the firmament, the one to rule the day, and the other to give light by night, so has he established two grand powers, the pontifical and the royal; and as the moon receives her light from the sun, so does royalty borrow its splendour from the Papal authority.*

Not content to exercise the legislative power as he pleased, by means of the numerous decretals which he dispersed over all Christendom, this pontiff was the first that arrogated to himself the prerogative of dispensing with the laws themselves, in virtue of what he termed the *plenitude of his power.* It is to him also that the origin of the Inquisition is ascribed, that terrible tribunal which afterwards became the firmest prop of sacerdotal despotism; but what is of more importance to remark, is, that he laid the foundations of that exorbitant power, which his successors have since ex-

exercised in collating or presenting to ecclesiastical dignities and benefices.

The secular princes having been deprived of their rights of nomination and confirmation, by the decrees of Gregory VII. and his successors, the privilege of electing bishops was restored to the clergy and congregation of each church, and to the chapters of convents; the confirmation of the elected prelates belonged to their immediate superiors; and collation to the other ecclesiastical benefices was reserved for the bishops and ordinaries. All these regulations were changed towards the end of the twelfth century. The canons of cathedral churches, authorized by the Court of Rome, claimed to themselves the right of election, to the exclusion of the clergy and the people; while the Popes, gradually interfering with elections and collations, found means to usurp the nomination and collation to almost all ecclesiastical benefices. The principle of these usurpations was founded on the false decretals; according to which all ecclesiastical jurisdiction emanates from the court of Rome, as a river flows from its source. It is from the Pope that archbishops and bishops hold that portion of authority with which they are endowed; and of which he does not divest himself, by the act of communicating it to them; but is rather the more entitled to cooperate with them in the exercise of that jurisdiction as often as he may judge proper.

This principle of a conjunct authority, furnished a very plausible pretext for the Popes to interfere in collation to benefices. This collation, according to the canon law, being essential to the jurisdiction of bishops, it seemed natural that the Pope, who

concurrent in the jurisdiction, should also concur in the privileges derived from it, namely, induction or collation to benefices. From the right of concurrence, therefore, Innocent III. proceeded to that of *prevention*, being the first pontiff that made use of it. He exercised that right, especially with regard to benefices which had newly become vacant by the death of their incumbents, when at the Court of Rome; in which cases it was easy to anticipate or get the start of the bishops. In the same manner, this right was exercised in remote dioceses, by means of legates *a latere*, which he dispersed over the different provinces of Christendom.

From the right of prevention were derived the *provisional mandates*, and the *Grâces Expectatives*, (reversionary grants or Bulls) letters granting promise of church livings before they became vacant. The Popes not having legates everywhere, and wishing, besides, to treat the bishops with some respect, began by addressing to them letters of recommendation in favour of those persons for whom they were anxious to procure benefices. These letters becoming too frequent and importunate, the bishops ventured to refuse their compliance; on which the Popes began to change their recommendations into orders or mandates; and appointed commissioners to enforce their execution by means of ecclesiastical censures. These mandates were succeeded by the *Grâces Expectatives*, which, properly speaking, were nothing else than mandates issued for benefices, whose titulars or incumbents were yet alive. Lastly appeared the *Reservations*, which were distinguished into general and special. The first general reservation was that of

benefices becoming vacant by the incumbents dying at the Court of Rome. This was introduced by Pope Clement IV. in 1265, in order to exclude for ever the bishops from the right of concurrence and prevention in benefices of that kind.

This first reservation was the forerunner of several others, such as the reservation of all cathedral churches, abbeys, and priories ; as also of the highest dignities in cathedral and collegiate churches ; and of all collective benefices, becoming vacant during eight months in the year, called *the Pope's months*, so that only four months remained for the ordinary collators ; and these too, encroached upon by mandates, expectatives, and reservations. The Popes having thus seized the nomination to episcopal dignities, it followed, by a simple and natural process, that the *confirmation* of all prelates, without distinction, was in like manner reserved for them. It would have even been reckoned a breach of decorum to address an archbishop, demanding from him the confirmation of a bishop nominated by the Pope ; so that this point of common right, which vested the confirmation of every prelate in his immediate superior, was also annihilated ; and the Romish See was at length acknowledged over the whole Western world, as the only source of all jurisdiction, and all ecclesiastical power.

An extraordinary event, the offspring of that superstitious age, served still more to increase the power of the Popes ; and that was the Crusades, which the nations of Europe undertook, at their request and by their orders, for the conquest of Palestine or the Holy Land. These expeditions, known by the name of Holy Wars, because religion was made the pretext or occasion of them, require

a somewhat particular detail, not merely of the circumstances that accompanied them, but also of the changes which they introduced into the moral and political condition of society. Pilgrimages to Jerusalem, which were in use from the earliest ages of Christianity, had become very frequent about the beginning of the eleventh century. The opinion which then very generally prevailed, that the end of the world was at hand, induced vast numbers of Christians to sell their possessions in Europe, in order that they might set out for the Holy Land, there to await the coming of the Lord. So long as the Arabs were masters of Palestine, they protected these pilgrimages, from which they derived no small emoluments. But when the Seljukian Turks, a barbarous and ferocious people, had conquered that country (1075) under the Caliphs of Egypt, the pilgrims saw themselves exposed to every kind of insult and oppression.⁸ The lamentable accounts which they gave of these outrages on their return to Europe, excited the general indignation, and gave birth to the romantic notion of expelling these Infidels from the Holy Land.

Gregory VII. was the projector of this grand scheme. He addressed circular letters to all the sovereigns of Europe, and invited them to make a general crusade against the Turks. Meantime, however, more pressing interests, and his quarrels with the Emperor Henry IV., obliged him to defer the projected enterprise; but his attention was soon recalled to it by the representation of a pilgrim, called Peter the Hermit, a native of Amiens in Picardy. Furnished with letters from the Patriarch of Jerusalem to the Pope and the princes

of the West, this ardent fanatic traversed the whole of Italy, France, and Germany; preaching everywhere, and representing, in the liveliest colours, the profanation of the sacred places, and the miserable condition of the Christians and poor pilgrims in the Holy Land. It proved no difficult task for him to impart to others the fanaticism with which he was himself animated. His zeal was powerfully seconded by Pope Urban II., who repaired in person to France, where he convoked the council of Clermont (1095), and pronounced, in full assembly, a pathetic harangue, at the close of which they unanimously resolved on the Holy war. It was decreed, that all who should enrol their names in this sacred militia, should wear a red cross on their right shoulder: that they should enjoy plenary indulgence, and obtain remission of all their sins.

From that time the pulpits of Europe resounded with exhortations to the crusades. People of every rank and condition were seen flocking in crowds to assume the signal of the cross; and, in the following year, innumerable bands of crusaders, from the different countries of Europe, set out, one after another, on this expedition to the East.⁹ The only exception was the Germans, who partook but feebly of this universal enthusiasm, on account of the disputes which then subsisted between the Emperor and the court of Rome.¹⁰ The three or four first divisions of the crusaders, under the conduct of chiefs, who had neither name nor experience, marched without order and without discipline; pillaging, burning, and wasting the countries through which they passed. Most of them pe-

rished from fatigue, hunger, or sickness, or by the sword of the exasperated nations, whose territories they had laid desolate. ¹¹

To these unwarlike and undisciplined troops succeeded regular armies, commanded by experienced officers, and powerful princes. Godfrey of Bouillon (1096), Duke of Lorrain, accompanied by his brother Baldwin, and his cousin Baldwin of Bourg, with a vast retinue of noblemen, put himself at the head of the first body of crusaders. He directed his march through Germany, Hungary, and Bulgaria, towards Constantinople, and was soon followed by several French princes, such as Hugh the Great, brother of Philip I. King of France; Robert Duke of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror; Stephen VI., Count of Blois; Eustace of Boulogne, brother to Godfrey de Bouillon, and Robert Count of Flanders, who all preferred the route by Italy. They passed the winter in the environs of Bari, Brindisi, and Otranto; and did not embark for Greece until the following spring. Boemond, Prince of Tarentum, son to Roger, Earl of Sicily, at the instigation of the French grandees, took the cross, after their example, and carried with him into the East the flower of the Normans, and the noblesse of Sicily, Apulia, and Calabria. Lastly, Raymond IV., Count of Toulouse, accompanied by the Bishop of Puy, traversed Lombardy, Friuli, and Dalmatia, on his passage to the Holy Land.

The general rendezvous of the crusaders was at Chalcedon in Bythinia. It is supposed that their forces united, amounted to six hundred thousand combatants. They commenced their exploits with the siege of Nice, capital of the empire of

Roum, of which they made themselves master, after having repulsed the Turks who had advanced under the command of the Sultan Kili-Arsalan, the son of Soliman, premier sultan of Roum. Another victory gained over the same sultan (1097) in the Gorgonian valley in Bythinia, opened for the crusaders a passage into Syria. There they undertook the siege of the strong city of Antioch, which they carried after an immense loss of lives (1098.) Having at length arrived in Palestine, they planned the attack of Jerusalem, which the Caliph of Egypt had just recovered from the Turks; and which the crusaders, in their turn, carried by assault from the Egyptians (1099.) This city was declared the capital of a new kingdom, the sovereignty of which was bestowed on Godfrey of Bouillon, though he refused to take the title of king. This famous prince extended his conquests by a splendid victory, which he gained that same year near Ascalon, over the Caliph of Egypt. On his death, his brother Baldwin succeeded him, and transmitted the throne to his cousin Baldwin of Bourg, whose posterity reigned in Jerusalem until the destruction of that kingdom by Saladin (1187).

Besides the kingdom of Jerusalem, which comprehended Palestine, with the cities of Sidon, Tyre, and Ptolemais, the crusaders founded several other states in the East. The earldom of Edessa, first conquered by Baldwin, brother of Godfrey, passed to several French princes in succession until the year 1144, when it was subdued by Atabek-Zenghi commonly called Sanguin. The principality of Antioch fell to the share of Boemond, prince of Tarentum, whose heirs and de-

scendants added to it, in 1188, the County of Tripoli, which had been founded (1110) by Raymond, Count of Toulouse, one of the crusaders. But they were deprived both of the one and the other of these sovereignties by the Mamelukes in 1268, who afterwards (1289) conquered Antioch and Tripoli. Lastly, the kingdom of Cyprus, which Richard Cœur-de-Lion, King of England, took from the Greeks (1191), was surrendered by that prince to Guy de Lusignon, whose posterity reigned in Cyprus till the year 1487, when that island was taken possession of by the republic of Venice.

The transient duration of these different states, presents nothing surprising. The Christians of the East, disunited among themselves, surrounded on all hands, and incessantly attacked by powerful nations, found themselves too remote from Europe to obtain from that quarter any prompt or effective succour. It was, therefore, impossible for them long to withstand the efforts of the Mahometans, who were animated as well as the Christians by a sectarian zeal, which led them to combine their forces against the enemies of their religion and their prophet. The enthusiasm of religious wars did not however become extinct until nearly two centuries. It was encouraged and supported by the numerous privileges which popes and sovereigns conferred on the invaders, and by the rich endowments that were made in their favour. All Europe continued to be in motion, and all its principal sovereigns marched in their turn to the East, either to attempt new conquests, or maintain those which the first crusaders had achieved.

Six grand crusades succeeded to the first; all of which were either fruitless, or at least without any important and durable success. Conrad III., Emperor of Germany, and Louis VII., King of France, undertook the second (1147), on account of the conquests of Atabek-Zenghi, who, three years before, had made himself master of Edessa. The third (1189) was headed by the Emperor Frederic I., surnamed Barbarossa; Philip Augustus King of France; and Richard Cœur-de-Lion of England; and the occasion of it, was the taking of Jerusalem by the famous Saladin (1187). The fourth was undertaken (1202), at the pressing instigation of Innocent III. Several of the French and German nobility uniting with the Venetians, assumed the cross under the command of Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat; but instead of marching to Palestine, they ended their expedition by taking Constantinople from the Greeks. The fifth crusade (1217) was conducted by Andrew, King of Hungary, attended by many of the princes and nobility of Germany, who had enlisted under the banner of the Cross in consequence of the decrees of the council of Lateran (1215). The Emperor Frederic II. undertook the sixth (1228). By a treaty which he concluded with the Sultan of Egypt, he obtained the restoration of Jerusalem and several other cities of Palestine; although they did not long continue in his possession. The Carizmian Turks, oppressed by the Moguls, seized on the Holy Land (1244), and pillaged and burnt Jerusalem. That famous city, together with the greater part of Palestine, fell afterwards under the dominion of the Sultans of Egypt.

The seventh and last grand crusade, was undertaken by Louis IX. King of France (1248). He conceived it necessary to begin his conquests by that of Egypt; but his design completely miscarried. Being made prisoner with his army after the action at Mansoura (1250), he only obtained his liberty by restoring Damietta, and paying a large ransom to the Sultan of Egypt. The unfortunate issue of this last expedition, slackened the zeal of the Europeans for crusading. Still, however, they retained two important places on the coast of Syria, the cities of Tyre and Ptolemais. But these places having been conquered by the Mamelukes (1291), there was no longer any talk about crusades to the East; and all the attempts of the Court of Rome to revive them proved ineffectual.

It now remains for us briefly to notice the effects which resulted from the crusades, with regard to the social and political state of the nations in Western Europe. One consequence of these, was the aggrandisement of the Roman Pontiffs, who, during the whole period of the crusades, played the part of supreme chiefs and sovereign masters of Christendom. It was at their request, as we have seen, that those religious wars were undertaken; it was they who directed them by means of their legates,—who compelled emperors and kings, by the terror of their spiritual arms, to march under the banner of the Cross—who taxed the clergy at their pleasure, to defray the expenses of these distant expeditions,—who took under their immediate protection the persons and effects of the Crusaders, and emancipated them, by means of special privileges, from all dependence on any power, civil or judiciary. The wealth of the

clergy was considerably increased during the time of which we speak, both by the numerous endowments which took place, and by the acquisition which the Church made of the immense landed property which the pious owners sold them on assuming the badge of the Cross.

These advantages which the See of Rome drew from the crusades in the East, were inducements to undertake similar expeditions in the West and North of Europe. In these quarters we find that the wars of the cross were carried on, (1.) Against the Mahometans of Spain and Africa. (2.) Against the Emperors and Kings who refused obedience to the orders of the Popes.^{1 2} (3.) Against heretical or schismatic princes, such as the Greeks and Russians. (4.) Against the Slavonians and other Pagan nations, on the coasts of the Baltic. (5.) Against the Waldenses, Albigenses, and Hussites, who were regarded as heretics. (6.) Against the Turks.

If the result of the crusades was advantageous to the hierarchy, if it served to aggrandise the power of the Roman Pontiffs, it must, on the contrary, have proved obviously prejudicial to the authority of the secular princes. It was in fact during this period that the power of the emperors, both in Germany and Italy, was sapped to the very foundation; that the royal house of Hohenstaufen sunk under the determined efforts of the Court of Rome; and that the federal system of the Empire gained gradual accessions of strength. In England and Hungary, we observe how the grandees seized on the opportunity to increase their own power. The former took advantage of their sovereign's absence in the Holy Land, and the latter

of the protection which they received from the Popes, to claim new privileges and extort charters, such as they did from John of England, and Andrew II. of Hungary, tending to cripple and circumscribe the royal authority.

In France, however, the result was different. There, the kings being freed, by means of the crusades, from a crowd of restless and turbulent vassals who often threw the kingdom into a state of faction and discord, were left at liberty to extend their prerogatives, and turn the scale of power in their own favour. They even considerably augmented their royal and territorial revenues, either by purchasing lands and fiefs from the proprietors who had armed in the cause of the cross; or by annexing to the crown the estates of those who died in the Holy Land, without leaving feudal heirs; or by seizing the forfeitures of others who were persecuted by religious fanaticism, as heretics or abettors of heresy. Finally, the Christian kings of Spain, the sovereigns of the North, the Knights of the Teutonic order, and of Livonia, joined the crusades recommended by the Popes, from the desire of conquest; the former, to subdue the Mahometans in Spain, and the others to vanquish the Pagan nations of the North, the Slavonians, Finns, Livonians, Prussians, Lithuanians, and Courlanders.

It is to the crusades, in like manner, that Europe owes the use of surnames, as well as of armorial bearings, and heraldry.¹³ It is easy to perceive, that among these innumerable armies of crusaders, composed of different nations and languages, some mark or symbol was necessary, in order to distinguish particular nations, or signalize

their commanders. Surnames and coats of arms were employed as these distinctive badges; the latter especially were invented to serve as rallying points, for the vassals and troops of the crusading chiefs. Necessity first introduced them, and vanity afterwards caused them to be retained. These coats of arms were hoisted on their standards, the knights got them emblazoned on their shields, and appeared with them at tournaments. Even those who had never been at the crusades, became ambitious of these distinctions; which may be considered as permanently established in families, from about the middle of the thirteenth century.

The same enthusiasm that inspired the Europeans for the crusades, contributed in like manner to bring tournaments into vogue. In these solemn and military sports, the young noblesse were trained to violent exercises, and to the management of heavy arms; so as to gain them some reputation for valour, and to insure their superiority in war. In order to be admitted to these tournaments it was necessary to be of noble blood, and to show proofs of their nobility. The origin of these feats is generally traced back to the end of the tenth, or beginning of the eleventh century. Geoffrey of Preuilly, whom the writers of the middle ages cite as being the inventor of them, did no more, properly speaking, than draw up their code of regulations. France was the country from which the practice of tournaments diffused itself over all the other nations of Europe. They were very frequent, during all the time that the crusading mania lasted.

To this same epoch belongs the institution of *Religious and Military Orders*. These were ori-

ginally established for the purpose of defending the new Christian States in the East, for protecting pilgrims on their journey, taking care of them when sick, &c.; and the vast wealth which they acquired in most of the kingdoms of Europe, preserved their existence long after the loss of the Holy Land; and some of these orders even made a conspicuous figure in the political history of the Western nations.

Of all these, the first and most distinguished was the *Order of St John of Jerusalem*, called afterwards the *Order of Malta*. Prior to the first crusade, there had existed at Jerusalem a church of the Latin or Romish liturgy, dedicated to St Mary, and founded by some merchants of Amalfi in the kingdom of Naples. There was also a monastery of the Order of St Benedict, and an hospital for the relief of poor or afflicted pilgrims. This hospital, the directors of which were appointed by the Abbot of St Mary's, having in a very short time become immensely rich by numerous donations of lands and seignories, both in Europe and Palestine, one of its governors named Gerard, a native of Martigues in Provence, as is alleged, took the regular habit (1100), and formed with his brethren a distinct congregation, under the name and protection of St John the Baptist. Pope Pascal II., by a bull issued in 1114, approved of this new establishment, and ordained, that after the death of Gerard, the Hospitallers alone should have the election of their superintendant. Raymond du Puy, a gentleman from Dauphiné, and successor to Gerard, was the first that took the title of Grand Master. He prescribed a rule for the Hospitallers; and Pope Calixtus II., in ap-

proving of this rule (1120), divided the members of the order into three classes. The nobles, called Knights of Justice, were destined for the profession of arms, making war on the Infidels, and protecting pilgrims. The priests and chaplains, selected from the respectable citizens, were intrusted with functions purely ecclesiastical; while the serving brethren, who formed the third class, were charged with the care of sick pilgrims, and likewise to act in the capacity of soldiers. These new knights were known by the name of *Knights of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem*, and were distinguished by wearing a white octagon cross on a black habit.

After the final loss of the Holy Land, this order established themselves in the Isle of Cyprus. From this they passed into Rhodes, which they had conquered from the Infidels (1310). This latter island they kept possession of till 1522; and being then expelled by Soliman the Great, they obtained (1530) from Charles V., the munificent grant of the Isle of Malta, under the express terms of making war against the Infidels. Of this place they were at length deprived by Buonaparte in 1798.

The order of Templars followed nearly that of St John. Its first founders (1119) were some French gentlemen; the chief of whom were Hugo de Payens, and Geoffrey de St Omer. Having made a declaration of their vows before the Patriarch of Jerusalem, they took upon themselves the special charge of maintaining free passage and safe conduct for the pilgrims to the Holy Land. Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, assigned them an apartment in his palace, near the temple, whence they

took the name of *Knights of the Temple*; and *Templars*. They obtained from Pope Honorius II. (1120) a rule, with a white habit ; to which Eugene III. added a red cross octagon. This order, after accumulating vast wealth and riches, especially in France, and distinguishing themselves by their military exploits for nearly two centuries, were at length suppressed by the Council of Vienna (1312).

The Teutonic order, according to the most probable opinion, took its origin in the camp before Acre, or Ptolemais. The honour of it is ascribed to some charitable citizens of Bremen and Lubec, who erected a hospital or tent with the sails of their vessels, for the relief of the numerous sick and wounded of their nation. Several German gentlemen having joined in this establishment, they devoted themselves by a vow to the service of the sick ; as also to the defence of the Holy Land against the Infidels. This order, known by the name of the Teutonic Knights of St Mary of Jerusalem, received confirmation from Pope Calixtus III. (1192), who prescribed for them the rule of the Hospital of St John, with regard to their attendance on the sick ; and with regard to chivalry or knighthood, that of the order of Templars. Henry Walpott de Passenheim was the first grand master of the order ; and the new knights assumed the white habit, with a red cross, to distinguish them from the other orders. It was under their fourth grand master, Hermann de Saltza (1230), that they passed into Prussia, which they conquered (1309). They fixed their chief residence at Marienburg ; but having lost Prussia in consequence of a change in the religious sentiments of their grand master, Albert de Brandenburg (1528),

they transferred their capital to Mergentheim, in Franconia.

A fourth order of Hospitallers founded in the Holy Land, was that of St Lazarus of Jerusalem, who had for their principal object the treatment of lepers; ¹⁴ and who, in process of time, from a medical, became a military order. After having long resided in the East, where they distinguished themselves in the Holy wars, they followed St Louis into France (1254), and fixed their chief seat at Boigny, near Orleans. Pope Gregory XIII. united them with the order of St Maurice, in Savoy; and Henry IV. with that of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, in France. On the model, and after the example of these four military orders, several others were founded in succession, in various kingdoms of Europe. ¹⁵ All these institutions contributed greatly to the renown of chivalry, so famous in the Middle Ages. The origin of this latter institution is earlier than the times of which we now speak, and seems to belong to the tenth, or the beginning of the eleventh century. The anarchy of feudalism being then at its height, and robberies and private quarrels everywhere prevailing, several noble and distinguished individuals, devoted themselves, by a solemn vow, according to the genius of the times, to the defence of religion and its ministers; as also of the fair sex, and of every person suffering from distress or oppression. From the end of the eleventh century, to the time when the crusades began, we find chivalry, with its pomp and its ceremonies, established in all the principal states of Europe. This salutary institution, by inspiring the minds of men with new energy, gave birth to many

illustrious characters. It tended to repress the disorders of anarchy, to revive order and law, and establish a new relationship among the nations of Europe.

In general, it may be said, that these ultra-marine expeditions, prosecuted with obstinacy for nearly two hundred years, hastened the progress of arts and civilization in Europe. The crusaders, journeying through kingdoms better organized than their own, and observing greater refinement in their laws and manners, were necessarily led to form new ideas, and acquire new information with regard to science and politics. Some vestiges of learning and good taste had been preserved in Greece, and even in the extremities of Asia, where letters had been encouraged by the patronage of the Caliphs. The city of Constantinople, which had not yet suffered from the ravages of the barbarians, abounded in the finest monuments of art. It presented to the eyes of the crusaders, a spectacle of grandeur and magnificence that could not but excite their admiration, and call forth a strong desire to imitate those models, the sight of which at once pleased and astonished them. To the Italians especially, it must have proved of great advantage. The continued intercourse which they maintained with the East and the city of Constantinople, afforded them the means of becoming familiar with the language and literature of the Greeks, of communicating the same taste to their own countrymen, and in this way advancing the glorious epoch of the revival of letters.

About the same time, commerce and navigation were making considerable progress. The cities of Italy, such as Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and others, in

assisting the Crusaders in their operations, by means of the transports, provisions, and warlike stores with which they furnished them, continued to secure for themselves important privileges and establishments in the seaports of the Levant, and other ports in the Greek empire. Their example excited the industry of several maritime towns in France, and taught them the advantage of applying their attention to Eastern commerce. In the North, the cities of Hamburgh and Lubec, formed, about the year 1241, as is generally supposed, their first commercial association, which afterwards became so formidable under the name of the *Hanseatic League*.¹⁶ The staple articles of these latter cities, consisted in marine stores, and other productions of the North, which they exchanged for the spiceries of the East, and the manufactures of Italy and the Low Countries.

The progress of industry, the protection which sovereigns extended to it, and the pains they took to check the disorders of feudalism, contributed to the prosperity of towns, by daily augmenting their population and their wealth. This produced, about the times we are speaking of, an advantageous change in the civil and social condition of the people. Throughout the principal states of Europe, cities began, after the twelfth century, to erect themselves into political bodies, and to form, by degrees, a third order, distinct from that of the clergy and nobility. Before this period, the inhabitants of towns enjoyed neither civil nor political liberty. Their condition was very little better than that of the peasantry, who were all serfs, attached to the soil. The rights of citizenship, and the privileges derived from it, were reserved for

the clergy and the noblesse. The Counts, or governors of cities, by rendering their power hereditary, had appropriated to themselves the rights that were originally attached to their functions. They used them in the most arbitrary way, and loaded the inhabitants with every kind of oppression that avarice or caprice could suggest.

At length, the cities which were either the most oppressed, or the most powerful, rose in rebellion against this intolerable yoke. The inhabitants formed themselves into confederations, to which they gave the name of *Communes* or *Free Corporations*. Either of their own accord, or by charters, obtained very often on burdensome terms, they procured for themselves a free government, which, by relieving them from servitude, and all impositions and arbitrary exactions, secured them personal liberty and the possession of their effects, under the protection of their own magistrates, and the institution of a militia, or city guard. This revolution, one of the most important in Europe, first took place in Italy, where it was occasioned by the frequent interregnums that occurred in Germany, as well as by the disturbances that rose between the Empire and the priesthood, in the eleventh century. The anathemas thundered against Henry IV., by absolving the subjects from the obedience they owed their sovereign, served as a pretext to the cities of Italy for shaking off the authority of the Imperial viceroys, or bailiffs, who had become tyrants instead of rulers, and for establishing free and republican governments. In this, they were encouraged and supported by the protection of the Roman pontiffs, whose sole aim and policy was the abasement of the Imperial authority.

Before this period, several maritime cities of Italy, such as Naples, Amalfi, Venice, Pisa, and Genoa, emboldened by the advantages of their situation, by the increase of their population and their commerce, had already emancipated themselves from the Imperial yoke, and erected themselves into republics. Their example was followed by the cities of Lombardy and the Venetian territory, especially Milan, Pavia, Asti, Cremona, Lodi, Como, Parma, Placentia, Verona, Padua, &c. All these cities, animated with the enthusiasm of liberty, adopted, about the beginning of the twelfth century, consuls and popular forms of government. They formed a kind of military force, or city guard, and vested in themselves the rights of royalty, and the power of making, in their own name and authority, alliances, wars, and treaties of peace. From Italy, this revolution extended to France and Germany, the Low Countries, and England. In all these different states, the use of Communes, or boroughs, was established, and protected by the sovereigns, who employed these new institutions as a powerful check against the encroachments and tyranny of the feudal lords.

In France, Louis the Fat, who began his reign in 1108, was the first king that granted rights, or constitutional charters, to certain cities within his domain, either from political motives, or the allurements of money. The nobility, after his example, eagerly sold liberty to their subjects. The revolution became general; the cry for liberty was raised everywhere, and interested every mind. Throughout all the provinces, the inhabitants of cities solicited charters, and sometimes without waiting for

them, they formed themselves voluntarily into communities, electing magistrates of their own choice, establishing companies of militia, and taking charge themselves of the fortifications and wardenship of their cities. The magistrates of free cities in northern France, were usually called mayors, sheriffs, and liverymen; while, in the south of France, they were called syndics and consuls. It soon became an established principle, that kings alone had the power to authorize the erection of corporate towns. Louis VIII. declared that he regarded all cities in which these corporations were established, as belonging to his domain. They owed military service directly and personally to the king; while such cities as had not these rights or charters, were obliged to follow their chiefs to the war.

In Germany, we find the emperors adopting the same policy as the kings of France. The resources which the progress of commerce and manufactures opened up to the industry of the inhabitants of cities, and the important succours which the emperors, Henry IV. and V., had received from them in their quarrels with the Pope and the princes of the Empire, induced them to take these cities under their protection, to augment their number, and multiply their privileges. Henry V. was the first emperor that adopted this line of policy. He granted freedom to the inhabitants of several cities, even to artisans and tradesmen; whose condition, at that time, was as degraded and debased as that of serfs. He extended to them the rank and privileges of citizens, and thus gave rise to the division of cities into classes and corporations of trades. This same prince set about repairing the fault

which the emperors of the house of Saxony had committed, of giving up to the bishops the temporal jurisdiction in all the cities wherein they resided. He gradually superseded these rights, by the new privileges which he granted to the inhabitants of cities. The emperors, his successors, followed his example ; in a little time, several of these cities threw off the yoke of their bishops, while others extricated themselves from the jurisdiction of their superiors, or provosts, whether imperial or feudal, and adopted, in imitation of the cities in Italy and France, magistrates of their own choosing, a republican form of government, and a municipal polity.

This liberty in cities, gave new vigour to industry, multiplied the sources of labour, and created means of opulence and power, till then unknown in Europe. The population of these cities increased with their wealth. Communities rose into political consequence ; and we find them successively admitted to the diets and national assemblies, in all the principal states of Europe. England set an example of this ; and though English authors are not agreed as to the precise time when the Commons of that kingdom were called into Parliament, it is at least certain that their first admission belongs to the reign of Henry III. (about 1265 or 1266), and that the formal division of the Parliament into two houses, is as late as the reign of Edward III.¹⁷ France followed the example of England ; the convocation of the states, by Philip the Fair (1303), on the subject of his disputes with Pope Boniface VIII., is considered as the first assembly of the States-general, composed of the three orders of

the kingdom. As to Germany, the first diet in which the cities of the Empire appeared in the form of a third order, was that of Spire (1309), convoked by the Emperor Henry VII., of the house of Luxembourg. Afterwards, we find these cities exercising a decisive or deliberative voice at the diet of Frankfort (1344), under Louis the Bavarian.

In all these states, we find the sovereigns protecting more especially those free cities which aided them in checking the devastations, and putting a stop to the fury of private or intestine wars. The most powerful of the feudal chiefs, finding everywhere cities in a capacity to defend themselves, became less enterprising in their ambition; and even the nobles of inferior rank learned to respect the power of these communities. The royal authority was thereby strengthened; and the cities, naturally inclining to the sovereigns that protected them, served as a counterpoise in the general assemblies, to the power of the clergy and the noblesse, and were the means of obtaining those subsidiary supplies necessary for the exigencies of the state.

The liberty which the inhabitants of cities had thus procured by the establishment of these communities, or corporate bodies, extended itself to the inhabitants of the country, by way of enfranchisements. Various circumstances concurred to render the use of these more frequent, after the twelfth century. The sovereigns, guided by the maxims of sound policy, set the first example of this within their own demesnes; and they were speedily imitated by the feudal lords and nobles, who, either out of courtesy to their sovereigns, or to

prevent the desertion of their vassals, or acquire new dependents, were compelled to grant liberty to the one, and mitigate the servitude of the other. The communities, or chartered cities, likewise seconded and promoted these enfranchisements, by the protection which they granted to the serfs against their feudal superiors.

In Italy, we perceive these enfranchisements following as an immediate consequence of the institution of communities. The continual feuds that arose among the numerous republics which had lately thrown off the yoke of authority, made the liberty of the serfs a measure absolutely necessary, in order to augment the number of cities qualified to bear arms, and hold places of trust. Bonacurso, Captain of Bologna (1256), proposed to his fellow-citizens, and carried the law of enfranchisement. All those who had serfs were obliged to present them before the Podesta, or Captain of the people, who affranchised them for a certain sum or tax, which the republic paid to the owner. The feudal superiors, finding that these enfranchisements had a powerful support in the liberty of the free cities, were obliged either to meliorate the condition of their serfs, or grant them liberty.

In France, after the twelfth century, and the reign of Louis the Fat, these enfranchisements began to be frequent. The son and successor of that prince, Louis VII., by royal letter (1180), affranchised all the serfs which the crown possessed at Orleans, and within five leagues of it. Louis X. passed a general law (1315), for the enfranchisement of all serfs belonging to the crown. He there made a positive declaration, that *slavery was*

contrary to nature, which intended that all men by birth should be free and equal; that, since his kingdom was denominated the kingdom of the Franks, or Freemen, it appeared just and right that the fact should correspond with the name. He invited, at the same time, all the nobility to imitate his example, by granting liberty to their serfs. That prince would have ennobled the homage he paid to nature, if the gift of liberty had been gratuitous on his part; but he made it a mere object of finance, and to gratify those only who could afford to pay for it; whence it happened, that enfranchisements advanced but very slowly; and examples of it are to be found in history, so late as the reign of Francis I.

In Germany, the number of serfs diminished in like manner, after the twelfth century. The crusades, and the destructive wars which the Dukes of Saxony and the Margraves of the North carried on with the Slavian tribes on the Elbe and the Baltic, having depopulated the northern and eastern parts of Germany, numerous colonies from Brabant, the Netherlands, Holland and Friesland, were introduced into these countries, where they formed themselves into establishments or associations of free cultivators of the soil. From Lower Germany the custom of enfranchisements extended to the Upper provinces, and along the banks of the Rhine. This was encouraged by the free cities, which not only gave a welcome reception to the serfs who had fled to shelter themselves from oppression within their walls, but they even granted protection, and the rights of citizenship, to those who had settled within the precincts or liberties of the town; ¹⁸ or who continued, without

changing their habitation, to reside on the lands of their feudal superiors. This spirited conduct of the free cities put the nobles of Germany to the necessity of aiding and abetting, by degrees, either the suppression or the mitigation of slavery. They reimbursed themselves for the loss of the fine or tax which they had been in the habit of levying, on the death of their serfs, by an augmentation of the quit-rent, or annual cess which they exacted from them on their being enfranchised.

In the Low Countries, Henry II., duke of Brabant (1218), in his last will, granted liberty to all cultivators of the soil;—he enfranchised them on the right of mortmain, and ordained, that, like the inhabitants of free cities, they should be judged by no other than their own magistrates. In this manner, liberty by degrees recovered its proper rights. It assisted in dispelling the clouds of ignorance and superstition, and spread a new lustre over Europe. One event which contributed essentially to give men more exact notions on government and jurisprudence, was the revival of the Roman law, which happened about the time we now speak of. The German tribes that destroyed the Western Empire in the fifth century, would naturally despise a system of legislation, such as that of the Romans, which neither accorded with the ferocity of their manners, nor the rudeness of their ideas. In consequence, the revolution which occasioned the downfall of that empire, brought at the same time the Roman jurisprudence into disuse over all the Western world. ¹⁹

A lapse of several centuries, however, was required, to rectify men's ideas on the nature of society, and to prepare them for receiving the laws

and institutions of a civilized and refined government. Such was the general state and condition of political knowledge, when the fame of a celebrated civilian, called Irnerius, who taught the law of Justinian publicly at Bologna, about the commencement of the twelfth century, attracted to that academy the youth of the greater part of Europe. There they devoted themselves with ardour to the study of this new science. The pupils, instructed by Irnerius and his successors, on returning home, and being employed in the tribunals and public offices of their native country, gradually carried into practice the principles which they had imbibed in the school of Bologna. Hence, in a short time, and without the direct interference of the legislative authority, the law of Justinian was adopted by degrees, as a subsidiary law in all the principal states of Europe. Various circumstances contributed to accelerate the progress of this revolution. People had felt for a long time the necessity of a new legislature, and the insufficiency of their national laws. The novelty of the Roman laws, as well as their equity and precision, arrested the attention of all Europe; and sovereigns found it their interest to protect a jurisprudence, whose maxims were so favourable to royalty and monarchical power, and which served at once to strengthen and extend their authority.

The introduction of the Roman jurisprudence was soon followed by that of the Canon law. The Popes, perceiving the rapid propagation of this new science, and eager to arrest its progress, immediately set themselves to the work of raising that vast and astonishing edifice the Canon law, as an engine to promote the accomplishment of their

own greatness. Gratian, a monk of Bologna, encouraged by Pope Eugenius III., compiled a collection of Canons, under the title of the *Decret*, which he arranged in systematic order, to serve as an introduction to the study of that law. This compilation, extracted from different authors who had preceded him, recommended itself to the world by its popular method, which was adapted to the genius of the times. Pope Eugenius III. gave it his approval in 1152, and ordained that it should be read and explained in the schools. This collection of Gratian soon obtained a wide and most successful reception; from the schools it passed to the public tribunals, both civil and ecclesiastical. At length, Pope Gregory IX., in imitation of the Emperor Justinian, who had caused a collection of his own statutes, and those of his predecessors, to be made by Tribonian, ordered his chaplain Raymond de Pennafort to compile and digest, in their proper order, all the decisions of his predecessors, as well as his own; thus extending to common practice, what had been originally established but for one place, and for particular cases. He published his collection (1235) under the name of *Decretals*, with an injunction, that it should be employed both in the tribunals and in the schools.

If this new system of jurisprudence served to extend the jurisdiction, and strengthen the temporal power of the Popes, it did not fail at the same time to produce salutary effects on the governments and manners of Europe. *The peace, or truce of God*, which some bishops of France, in the eleventh century, had instituted as a check on the unbridled fury of private quarrels and civil discord, was established, by the *Decretals*, into a general

law of the church.²⁰ *The judgments of God*, till then used in the tribunals of justice, trial by single combat, by hot iron, hot and cold water, the cross, &c. were gradually abolished. The restraints of the Canon law, added to the new information which had diffused its light over the human mind, were instrumental in rooting out practices which served only to cherish and protract the ancient ferocity of manners. The spirit of order and method which prevailed in the new jurisprudence, soon communicated itself to every branch of legislation among the nations of Europe. The feudal law was reduced to systematic order; and the usages and customs of the provinces, till then local and uncertain, were collected and organized into a regular form.²¹

Jurisprudence, having now become a complicated science, demanded a long and laborious course of study, which could no longer be associated with the profession of arms. The sword was then obliged by degrees to abandon the courts of justice, and give place to the gown. A new class of men thus arose, that of the law, who contributed by their influence to repress the overgrown power of the nobility.

The rapid progress which the new jurisprudence made, must be ascribed to the recent foundation of universities, and the encouragements which sovereigns granted these literary corporations. Before their establishment, the principal public schools were those which were attached either to monasteries, or cathedral and collegiate churches. There were, however, only a few colleges instituted; and these in large cities, such as Rome, Paris, Angers, Oxford, Salamanca, &c. The sciences there taught were comprised under the seven liberal arts, viz.

Grammar, Rhetoric, Dialectics or Logic, Arithmetic, Geometry, Music, and Astronomy. The first three were known by the name of *Trivium* ; and the other four, which make part of mathematics, by that of *Quadrivium*. As for Theology and Jurisprudence, they did not as yet figure among the academic sciences ; and there was no school of medicine prior to that of Salerno—the only one of which any traces are discovered, towards the end of the eleventh century.

These schools and academies cannot, by any means, be put in comparison with modern universities ; which differ from them essentially, both as to the variety of sciences which are professed, and by their institutions as privileged bodies, enjoying a system of government and jurisdiction peculiarly their own. The origin of these Universities is coeval with the revival of the Roman law in Italy, and the invention of academic degrees. The same Irnerius who is generally acknowledged as the restorer of the Roman law at Bologna, was also the first that conceived the idea of conferring, with certain solemnities, doctorial degrees ; and granting license or diplomas to those who excelled in the study of jurisprudence. Pope Eugenius III. (1153), when he introduced the Code of Gratian into the academy of Bologna, gave permission to confer the same degrees in the Canon law, as had been customary in the Civil law. These degrees were much coveted and esteemed on account of the honours, immunities, and prerogatives which the sovereign had attached to them. Nothing however contributed more to bring universities into favour, than the privileges and immunities which the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa conferred

on them (1158), by his *Authentic*, (or rescript, called *Habita*). The example of this prince was speedily followed by the other sovereigns of Europe.

The teaching of jurisprudence passed from the school of Bologna to the different accademies of Europe. Theology also was soon admitted, as well as medicine ; and these completed the four faculties, as they were called, of which the universities were composed. That of Paris was the first which combined all the faculties. It was completed under the reign of Philip Augustus, from whom it obtained its earliest charter, about the year 1200. Except itself there are only the universities of Bologna, Padua, Naples, Toulouse, Salamanca, Coimbra, Cambridge, and Oxford, that date their origin in the thirteenth century.^{2 2}

The downfall of the Imperial authority, and of the house of Hohenstaufen, and the new power usurped by the princes and States of the Empire, occasioned a long series of troubles in Germany, and that frightful state of anarchy, known by the name of the *Grand Interregnum*. Strength then triumphed over law and right ; the government was altered from its basis ; and no other means were found to remedy this want of public security, than by forming alliances and confederations, such as that of the Rhine,^{2 3} and the Hanseatic League, which began to appear about this time (1253). The election of the Emperors, in which all the princes and states of the empire had formerly concurred, became then the privilege solely of the great officers of the crown, who, towards the middle of the thirteenth century, claimed for themselves exclusively the right of electing, and the title of

Electors.²⁴ The princes and states of the Empire, anxious to confirm their growing power, sought to promote only the feeblest emperors, who were incapable of supporting the rights and prerogatives of the crown. The electors, in particular, had no other object in view, than to derive a lucrative traffic from elections; bargaining every time with the candidates for large sums, and obtaining grants or mortgages of such portions of the Imperial demesnes as suited their convenience. One only of these weak emperors, Rodolph, Count of Hapsburg in Switzerland, (1273) disappointed the expectations of his electors. He repressed by force of arms, the disorders of anarchy, restored the laws and tribunals to their pristine vigour, and reconquered several of the Imperial domains from the usurpers who had seized them.

In consequence of the revolutions which we have now detailed, we find very important and memorable changes accomplished in the different provinces of the Empire. The princes and States of the Germanic body, regarding as their own patrimony the provinces and fiefs with which they were invested, thought themselves further authorized to portion them out among their sons. The usage of these partitions became general after the thirteenth century; and this wrought the downfall of some of the most powerful families, and tended to multiply almost to infinity the duchies, principalities, and earldoms of the Empire. The Emperors, far from condemning this practice, which by no means accorded with the maxims of the feudal law, on the contrary gave it their countenance, as appearing to them a proper instrument

for humbling the power of the grandees, and acquiring for themselves a preponderating authority in the Empire.

The ancient duchies of Bavaria and Saxony experienced a new revolution on the fall of the powerful house of the Guelphs, which was deprived of both these duchies by the sentence of proscription which the Emperor Frederic I. pronounced against Henry the Lion (1180), Duke of Bavaria and Saxony. The first of these duchies, which had formerly been dismembered from the Margravate of Austria by Frederic I. (1156), and erected into a duchy and fief holding immediately of the Empire, was exposed to new partitions at the time of which we now speak. The bishoprics of Bavaria, Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, and the Tyrol, broke their alliance with Bavaria; and the city of Ratisbonne, which had been the residence of the ancient dukes, was declared *immediate*, or holding of the crown. It was when contracted within these new limits that Bavaria was conferred, by Frederic I. (1180), on Otho, Count of Wittelsbach, a scion of the original house of Bavaria. This house afterwards acquired by marriage (1215) the Palatinate of the Rhine. It was subsequently divided into various branches, of which the two principal were the Palatine and the Bavarian.

As to the duchy of Saxony, which embraced, under the Guelphs, the greater part of Lower Germany, it completely changed its circumstances on the decline of that house. Bernard of Aschersleben, younger son of Albert named the Bear, first Margrave of Brandenburg, a descendant of the Ascanian line, had been invested in the duchy of Saxony by Frederic I. (1180), but was found

much too feeble to support the high rank to which he had been elevated. In consequence, the title, or qualification to the duchy of Saxony and the Electorate, was restricted, under the successors and descendants of that prince, to an inconsiderable district, situated on both sides of the Elbe; called since the Electoral Circle, of which Wittenberg was the capital. The princes of Pomerania and Mecklenburg, the Counts of Holstein and Westphalia, and the city of Lubeck, took advantage of this circumstance to revolt from the authority of the Duke of Saxony, and render themselves immediate. A part of Westphalia was erected into a distinct duchy, in favour of the Archbishop of Cologne, who had seconded the Emperor in his schemes of vengeance against the Guelphic princes. This latter house, whose vast possessions had extended from the Adriatic Sea to the Baltic and the Northern Ocean, retained nothing more of its ancient splendour than the free lands which it possessed in Lower Saxony, and which the Emperor Frederic II. (1235) converted into a duchy, and immediate fief of the empire, in favour of Otho the Infant, grandson of Henry the Lion, and the new founder of the House of Brunswick.

The extinction of the House of Hohenstaufen having occasioned a vacancy in the duchies of Suabia and Franconia, the different states of these provinces, both secular and ecclesiastical, found means to render themselves also immediate, (1268.) A number of cities which had belonged to the domains of the ancient dukes, were raised to the rank of free and imperial cities; and the Houses of Baden, Wurtemberg, Hohen-Zollern, and Furstenberg, date their celebrity from this period. The

death of the anti-emperor, Henry le Raspon (1247), last landgrave of Thuringia, gave rise to a long war between the Margraves of Misnia and the Dukes of Brabant, who mutually contested that succession. The former advanced an Expectative, or deed of Reversion of the Emperor Frederic II., as well as the claims of Jutta, sister of the last landgrave; and the others maintained those of Sophia, daughter of the landgrave Louis, elder brother and predecessor of Henry le Raspon. At length, by a partition which took place (1264), Thuringia, properly so called, was made over to the House of Misnia; and Henry of Brabant, surnamed the Infant, son of Henry II. Duke of Brabant, and Sophia of Thuringia, was secured in the possession of Hesse, and became the founder of a new dynasty of landgraves—those of the House of Hesse.

The ancient dukes of Austria, of the House of Bamberg, having become extinct with Frederic the Valiant (1246), the succession of that duchy was keenly contested between the niece and the sisters of the last duke; who, though females, could lay claim to it, in virtue of the privilege granted by the emperor Frederic Barbarossa. Ottocar II., son of Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, took advantage of these troubles in Austria, to possess himself of that province (1251). He obtained the investiture of it (1262) from Richard, son of John king of England, who had purchased the title of Emperor at a vast expense; but Rodolph of Hapsbourg, treating him as a usurper, made war upon him, defeated and slew him in a battle which was fought (1278) at Marchfeld, in the neighbourhood of Vienna. The duchies of Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, and Carniola, being then detached from

the kingdom of Bohemia, were declared vacant, and devolved to the Empire. The investiture of these the Emperor conferred (1282) on Albert and Rodolph, his own sons. Albert, the eldest of these princes, who was afterwards Emperor, became the founder of the Hapsbourg dynasty of Austria.

In Italy, a great number of republics arose about the end of the eleventh, or beginning of the twelfth century. These republics, though they had cast off the Imperial authority, and claimed to themselves the rights of sovereignty, protested, nevertheless, their fealty to the Emperor, whom they agreed to recognise as their supreme head. The Emperors, Henry V., Lotharie the Saxon, and Conrad III., saw themselves compelled to tolerate an usurpation which they were too feeble to repress. But Frederic Barbárossa being determined to restore the royalty of Italy to its ancient splendour, led a powerful army into that kingdom (1158); and in a diet which he assembled on the plains of Roncaglia, in the territory of Placentia, he caused a strict investigation to be made by the lawyers of Bologna, into the rights on which he founded his pretensions to the title of King of Italy. The opposition which the execution of the decrees of that diet met with on the part of the Milanese, induced the Emperor to undertake the siege of their city. He made himself master of it in 1162, razed it to the foundation, and dispersed the inhabitants.

This chastisement of the Milanese astonished the Italians, but without abating their courage. They afterwards took advantage of the reverses of the Emperor, and the schism which had arisen in

the Romish Church, to form a league with the principal cities of Lombardy (1167), into which they drew the King of the Two Sicilies, as well as Pope Alexander III., whom the Emperor treated as a schismatic. The city of Milan was rebuilt in consequence of this league; as also that of Alexandria, called della Paglia. The war was long protracted; but the Emperor being abandoned by Henry the Lion, Duke of Bavaria and Saxony, the most powerful of his vassals, received a defeat at Lignano, which obliged him to make an accommodation with Pope Alexander III., and to sign, at Venice, a treaty of six years with the confederate cities (1177). This treaty was afterwards converted, at Constance, into a definitive peace (1183); by virtue of which, the cities of Italy were guaranteed in the forms of government they had adopted, as well as in the exercise of the regalian rights which they had acquired, whether by usage or prescription. The Emperor reserved for himself the investiture of the consuls, the oath of allegiance, which was to be renewed every ten years, and all appeals, in civil cases, where the sum exceeded the value of twenty-five imperial livres, (about 1500 francs).

The Emperor Frederic II., grandson of Frederic I., and heir, in right of his mother, to the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, made new efforts to restore the prerogatives of the Empire in Italy. But the cities of Lombardy renewed their league, into which they drew Pope Gregory IX. (1226), whose dignity and power would be endangered if the Emperor, being possessor of the Two Sicilies, should succeed in conquering the cities of Lombardy. The war which ensued (1236), was long

and bloody. The Popes Gregory IX. and Innocent IV., went so far as to preach up a crusade against the Emperor, as if he had been an infidel ; while that unfortunate prince, after the most courageous and indefatigable efforts, had the mortification to see his troops once more discomfited by the forces of the League.

The cities of Italy were no sooner delivered from the terror of the Emperors, than they let loose their fury against each other ; impelled by the rage of conquest, and torn by the internal factions of the Guelphs and the Ghibellines, as well as by the contests which had arisen between the noblesse and the free cities. The partisans of the nobles in these cities, were strengthened by the very measures which had been taken to humble them. The chartered towns by destroying that multitude of seignories, earldoms, and marquisesates with which Lombardy swarmed before the twelfth century, and by incorporating them with their own territories, obliged the deserted nobles and grandes to seek an establishment within their walls. These latter, finding their partisans united and powerful, soon attempted to seize the government ; and hence arose an interminable source of civil discord, which ended with the loss of liberty in the greater part of these communities.

To arrest these evils, and put a check to the ambition of the powerful citizens, they adopted the plan of intrusting the government to a single magistrate, to be called the *Podesta*, who should be chosen in the neighbouring cities. This scheme was but a palliative rather than a remedy ; and in order to guarantee themselves from the oppression of the nobles, the corporations of several cities

gradually adopted the plan of conferring a sort of dictatorship on one of the powerful citizens, or on some prince or nobleman, even though he were a stranger, under the title of *Captain*; hoping, in this way, to succeed in reestablishing peace and order. These chiefs or captains contrived, in process of time, to render absolute and perpetual, an authority which at first was temporary, and only granted on certain conditions. Hence the origin of several new independent sovereignties which were formed in Italy during the course of the fourteenth century.

Venice and Genoa at that time eclipsed all the republics of Italy, by the flourishing state of their navigation and commerce. The origin of the former of these cities is generally dated as far back as the invasion of the Huns under Attila (452.) The cruelty of these barbarians having spread terror and flight over the whole country, many of the inhabitants of ancient Venetia, took refuge in the isles and lagoons on the borders of the Adriatic Gulf; and there laid the foundation of the city of Venice, which, whether we regard the singularity of its construction, or the splendour to which it rose, deserves to be numbered among the wonders of the world. At first its government was popular, and administered by a bench of tribunes whose power was annual. The divisions which arose among these yearly administrators, occasioned the election of a chief (697), who took the title of Duke or Doge. This dignity was for life, and depended on the suffrages of the community; but he exercised nevertheless the rights of sovereignty, and it was not till after a long course of time that his authority was gradually abridged; and the go-

vernment, which had been monarchical, became again democratical.

Venice, which from its birth was a commercial city, enjoyed in the middle ages nearly the same renown which Tyre had among the trading cities of antiquity. The commencement of its grandeur may be dated from the end of the tenth century, and under the magistracy of the Doge Peter Urseolo II., whom the Venetians regard as the true founder of their state (992). From the Greek emperors he obtained for them an entire liberty and immunity of commerce, in all the ports of that empire; and he procured them at the same time several very important advantages, by the treaties which he concluded with the emperor Otho III. and with the Caliphs of Egypt. The vast increase of their commerce, inspired these republicans with a desire to extend the contracted bounds of their territory. One of their first conquests was the maritime cities of Istria, as well as those of Dalmatia; both of which occurred under the magistracy of Peter Urseolo II., and in the year 997. They were obliged to make a surrender of the cities of Dalmatia, by the emperors of the East, who regarded these cities as dependencies of their empire; while the kings of Croatia and Dalmatia also laid claim to them. Croatia having passed into the hands of the Kings of Hungary, about the end of the eleventh century, these same cities became a perpetual source of troubles and wars between the Kings of Hungary and the Republic of Venice; and it was not till the fifteenth century that the Republic found means to confirm its authority in Dalmatia.

The Venetians having become parties in the famous League of Lombardy, in the eleventh century, contributed by their efforts, to render abortive the vast projects of the Emperor Frederic I. Pope Alexander III., as a testimony of his gratitude, granted them the sovereignty of the Hadriatic (1177), ²⁵ and this circumstance gave rise to the singular ceremony of annually marrying this sea to the Doge of Venice. The aggrandisement of this republic was greatly accelerated by the crusades, especially the *fourth* (1204), which was followed by the dismemberment of the Greek empire. The Venetians, who had joined this crusade, obtained for their portion several cities and ports in Dalmatia, Albania, Greece and the Morea ; as also the Islands of Corfu, Cephalonia, and Candia or Crete. At length, towards the end of the thirteenth century, this republic assumed the peculiar form of government which it retained till the day of its destruction. In the earlier ages its constitution was democratic, and the power of the Doge limited by a grand council, which was chosen annually from among the different classes of the citizens, by electors named by the people. As these forms gave occasion to troubles and intestine commotions, the Doge Pietro Gradenigo, to remove all cause of discontent in future, passed a law (1298), which abrogated the custom of annual elections, and fixed irrevocably in their office all those who then sat in the grand council, and this to descend to their posterity for ever. The hereditary aristocracy thus introduced at Venice, did not fail to excite the discontent of those whose families this new law had excluded from the government ; and it was this which afterwards occa-

sioned various insurrections, of which that of Tiepolo (1310) is the most remarkable. The partisans of the ancient government, and those of the new, attempted to decide the matter by a battle in the city of Venice. Tiepolo and his party were defeated, and Querini, one of the chiefs, was killed in the action. A commission of ten members was nominated to inform against the accomplices of this secret conspiracy. This commission, which was meant to be but temporary, was afterwards declared perpetual; and, under the name of *the Council of Ten*, became one of the most formidable supports of the aristocracy.

The city of Genoa, like that of Venice, owed her prosperity to the progress of her commerce, which she extended to the Levant, Constantinople, Syria, and Egypt. Governed at first by Consuls, like the rest of the Italian states, she afterwards (1190) chose a foreign *Podesta* or governor, to repress the violence of faction, and put a check on the ambition of the nobles. This governor was afterwards made subordinate to a Captain of the people, whom the Genoese chose for the first time in 1257, without being able yet to fix their government, which experienced frequent variations before assuming a settled and permanent form. These internal divisions of the Genoese did not impede the progress of their commerce and their marine. The crusades of the 12th and 13th centuries, the powerful succours which these republicans gave to the crusaders, and to the Greeks, as well as the treaties which they concluded with the Moorish and African princes, procured them considerable establishments in the Levant, and also in Asia and Africa. Caffa, a fa-

mous sea-port on the Black Sea, and the port of Azoph, the ancient Tanais, at the mouth of the Don, belonged to them; and served as entrepôts for their commerce with China and the Indies, Smyrna in Asia Minor, as also the suburbs of Pera and Galata at Constantinople, and the isles of Scio, Metelin, and Tenedos, in the Archipelago, were ceded to them by the Greek emperors. The kings of Cyprus were their tributaries. The Greek and German emperors, the kings of Sicily, Castille and Arragon, and the Sultans of Egypt, zealously sought their alliance, and the protection of their marine. Encouraged by these successes, they formed a considerable territory on the continent of Italy, after the 12th century, of which nothing but a fragment now remains to them.

Genoa had at that time, in its immediate neighbourhood, a dangerous rival of its power and greatness. This rival was Pisa, a flourishing republic on the coast of Tuscany, which owed its prosperity entirely to the increase of its commerce and marine. The proximity of these two states—the similarity of their views and their interests—the desire of conquest—and the command of the sea, which both of them affected, created a marked jealousy between them, and made them the natural and implacable enemies of each other. One of the principal subjects of dispute was the possession of Corsica and Sardinia,²⁶ which the two republics contested at the point of the sword, after having, by means of their combined force, expelled the Moors, toward the middle of the eleventh century. Pisa, originally superior to Genoa in maritime strength, disputed with her the empire of the Mediterranean, and haughtily for-

made the Genoese to appear within those seas with their ships of war. This rivalry nourished the animosity of the two republics, and rendered it implacable. Hence a continual source of mutual hostilities, which were renewed incessantly for the space of 200 years, and only terminated in 1290; when, by the conquest of Elba, and the destruction of the ports of Pisa and Leghorn, the Genoese effected the ruin of the shipping and commerce of the Pisan republic.

Lower Italy, possessed by the Norman princes, under the title of Duchy and Comté, became the seat of a new kingdom in the eleventh century—that of the Two Sicilies. On the extinction of the Dukes of Apulia and Calabria, descendants of Robert Guiscard, Roger, son of Roger, Count of Sicily, and sovereign of that island, united the dominions of the two branches of the Norman dynasty (1127); and, being desirous of procuring for himself the royal dignity, he attached to his interest the Anti-pope Anacletus II., who invested him with royalty by a bull (1130), in which, however, he took care to reserve the territorial right and an annual tribute to the Church of Rome. This prince received the crown of Palermo from the hands of a cardinal, whom the pope had deputed for the express purpose. On the death of the Emperor Lothaire, he succeeded in dispossessing the Prince of Capua, and subduing the duchy of Naples (1139); thus completing the conquest of all that is now denominated the kingdom of Naples. William II., grandson of Roger, was the principal support of Pope Alexander III.; and of the famous League of Lombardy formed against the

Emperor Frederic Barbarossa. The male line of the Norman princes having become extinct in William II., the kingdom of the Two Sicilies passed (1189) to the House of Hohenstaufen, by the marriage which the Emperor Henry IV., son of Frederic Barbarossa, contracted with the Princess Constance, aunt and heretrix of the last king. Henry maintained the rights of his wife against the usurper Tancred, and transmitted this kingdom to his son Frederic II., who acquired by his marriage with Jolande, daughter of John de Brienne, titular King of Jerusalem, the titles and arms of this latter kingdom. The efforts which Frederic made to annihilate the League of Lombardy, and confirm his own authority in Italy, drew down upon him the persecution of the court of Rome, who, taking advantage of the minority of the young Conradin, grandson of Frederic II., wrested the crown of the two Sicilies from this rival house, which alone was able to check its ambitious projects. Mainfroi, natural son of Frederic II., disgusted with playing the part of tutor to the young Conradin, in which capacity he at first acted, caused himself to be proclaimed and crowned, at Palermo, King of the Two Sicilies, (1258). The Popes Urban IV., and Clement IV., dreading the genius and talents of this prince, made an offer of that kingdom to Charles of Anjou, Count of Provence, and brother of St Louis. Clement IV. granted the investiture of it (1265) to him and his descendants, male and female, on condition of his doing fealty and homage to the Holy See, and presenting him annually with a white riding horse, and a tribute of eight million ounces of gold. Charles, after being crowned at

Rome, marched against Mainfroi, with an army chiefly composed of crusaders. He defeated that prince, who was slain at the battle of Benevento (1266), which was soon after followed by the reduction of the two kingdoms. One rival to Charles still survived, the young Conradin, the lawful heir to the throne of his ancestors. Charles vanquished him also, two years afterwards, in the plains of Tagliacozzo; and having made him prisoner, together with his young friend Frederic of Austria, he caused both of these princes to be beheaded at Naples (29th October 1268).

Charles did not long enjoy his new dignity. While he was preparing to undertake a crusade against Michael Paleologus, a schismatic prince who had expelled the Latins from Constantinople, he had the mortification to see himself dispossessed of Sicily, on the occasion of the famous *Sicilian Vespers* (1282). This event, which is generally regarded as the result of a conspiracy, planned with great address by a gentleman of Salerno, named John de Procida, appears to have been but the sudden effect of an insurrection, occasioned by the aversion of the Sicilians to the French yoke. During the hour of vespers, on the second day of Easter (30th March), when the inhabitants of Palermo were on their way to the Church of the Holy Ghost, situated at some distance from the town, it happened that a Frenchman, named Drouette, had offered a private insult to a Sicilian woman: hence a quarrel arose, which drew on a general insurrection at Palermo. All the French who were in the city or the neighbourhood were massacred, with the exception of one gentleman from Provence, called William Porcellet, who had

conciliated all hearts by his virtues. This revolt gradually extended to the other Sicilian cities. Every where the French were put to death on the spot. Messina was the last that caught the infection; but there the revolution did not take place till thirty days after the same event at Palermo, (29th April 1282). It is therefore not true, that this massacre of the French happened at the same hour, and at the sound of the vesper bells, over all parts of the island. Nor is it more probable, that the plot had been contrived by Peter III., King of Arragon; since the Palermitans displayed at first the banner of the church, having resolved to surrender to the Pope; but being driven from this resolution, and dreading the vengeance of Charles, they despatched deputies to the King of Arragon, who was then cruising with a fleet off the African coast, and made him an offer of their crown. This prince yielded to the invitation of the Palermitans; he landed at Trapani, and thence passed to Palermo, where he was crowned King of Sicily. The whole island submitted to him; and Charles of Anjou was obliged to raise the siege of Messina, which he had undertaken. Peter entered and took possession of the place, and from that time Sicily remained under the power of the Kings of Arragon; it became the inheritance of a particular branch of the Arragonese princes; and the House of Anjou were reduced to the single kingdom of Naples.

Spain, which was divided into several sovereignties, both Christian and Mahometan, presented a continual spectacle of commotion and carnage. The Christian States of Castille and Arragon, were gradually increased by the conquests made

over the Mahometans ; while the kingdom of Navarre, less exposed to conquest by its local situation, remained nearly in its original state of mediocrity. This latter kingdom passed in succession to female heirs of different houses. Blanche of Navarre, daughter of Sancho VI., transferred it to the Counts of Champagne (1234). On the extinction of the male line of that house, in Henry I. of Navarre (1274), Joan I., his daughter and heiress, conveyed that kingdom, together with the Comtés of Champagne and Brie, to the crown of France. Philip the Fair, husband of that princess, and his three sons, Louis le Hutin, Philip the Long, and Charles the Fair, were, at the same time, kings both of France and Navarre. Finally, it was Queen Joan II., daughter of Louis le Hutin, and heretrix of Navarre, who transferred that kingdom to the family of the Counts d'Evreux, and relinquished the Comtés of Champagne and Brie to Philip of Valois, successor of Charles the Fair to the throne of France (1336).

The family of the Counts of Barcelona ascended the throne of Arragon (1137), by the marriage of Count Raymond-Berenguier IV. with Donna Petronilla, daughter and heiress of Ramira II., King of Arragon. Don Pedro II., grandson of Raymond-Berenguier, happening to be at Rome (1204), was there crowned king of Arragon by Pope Innocent III. On this occasion he did homage for his kingdom to that pontiff, and engaged, for himself and successors, to pay an annual tribute to the Holy See. Don James I., surnamed the Conqueror, son of Don Pedro II., gained some important victories over the Mahometans, from whom he took the Balearic Isles (1230), and the

kingdom of Valentia,²⁷ (1238). Don Pedro II., eldest son of Don James I., had dispossessed Charles I. of Anjou and Sicily, which drew down upon him a violent persecution on the part of Pope Martin IV., who was on the eve of publishing a crusade against him, and assigning over his estates to Charles of Valois, a younger brother of Philip called the Hardy, king of France. Don James II., younger son of Don Pedro III., succeeded in making his peace with the Court of Rome, and even obtained from Pope Boniface VIII. (1297) the investiture of the Island of Sardinia, on condition of acknowledging himself the vassal and tributary of the Holy See for that kingdom, which he afterwards obtained by conquest from the republic of Pisa.

The principal victories of the Christians over the Mahometans in Spain, were reserved for the kings of Castille, whose history is extremely fertile in great events. Alphonso VI., whom some call Alphonso I., after having taken Madrid and Toledo (1085), and subdued the whole kingdom of Toledo, was on the point of altogether expelling the Mahometans from Spain, when a revolution which happened in Africa augmented their forces by fresh numbers, and thus arrested the progress of the Castilian prince.

The Zeirides, an Arab dynasty, descended from Zeiri, son of Mounad, reigned then over that part of Africa which comprehends Africa properly so called (viz. Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers), and the Mogreb (comprehending Fez and Morocco), which they had conquered from the Fatamite caliphs of Egypt. It happened that a new apostle and conqueror, named Aboubeker, son of Omer,

collected some tribes of Arabs in the vicinity of Sugulmessa, a city in the kingdom of Fez, and got himself proclaimed Commander of the Faithful. His adherents took the name of *Morabethin*, a term which signifies *zealously devoted to religion*; and whence the Spaniards have formed the names *Almoravides* and *Marabouts*. Having made himself master of the city of Sugulmessa, this warlike Emir extended his conquests in the Mogreb, as well as in Africa Proper, whence he expelled the Zeirides. His successor, Yousuff, or Joseph, the son of Taschefin, completed the conquest of these countries; and built the city of Morocco (1069), which he made the capital of the Mogreb, and the seat of his new empire. This prince joined the Mahometans of Seville, to whose aid he marched with his victorious troops, defeated the king of Castille at the battle of Badajos (1090), and subdued the principal Mahometan states of Spain, such as Grenada and Seville, &c.

The empire of the Almoravides was subverted in the twelfth century by another Mahometan sect, called the *Moahedins*, or *Almohades*, a word signifying Unitarians. An upstart fanatic, named *Abdalmoumen*, was the founder of this sect. He was educated among the mountains of Sous, in Mauritania, and assumed the quality of *Emir* (1120), and the surname of *Mohadi*, that is, *the Chief*—the leader and director of the faithful. Having subdued Morocco, Africa, and the whole of the Mogreb, he annihilated the dynasty of the Almoravides (1146), and at the same time vanquished the Mahometan states in Spain. He took also (1160) from the Normans Tunis, Mohadie, and Tripoli, of which they had taken possession.

One of his successors, named Naser-Mohammed, formed the project of reconquering the whole continent of Spain. The immense preparations which he made for this purpose, alarmed Alphonso VIII., king of Castille, who immediately formed an alliance with the kings of Arragon and Navarre, and even engaged Pope Innocent III. to proclaim a crusade against the Mahometans. The armies of Europe and Africa met on the confines of Castille and Andalusia (1212); and in the environs of the city Ubeda was fought a bloody battle, which so crippled the power of the Almohades, as to occasion in a short time the downfall and dismemberment of their empire.²⁸

About this period (1269), the Mahometans of Spain revolted afresh from Africa, and divided themselves into several petty states, of which the principal and the only one that existed for several centuries, was that of the descendants of Naser, Kings of Grenada. Ferdinand III., King of Castille and Leon, took advantage of this event to renew his conquests over the Mahometans. He took from them the kingdoms of Cordova, Murcia, and Seville (1236, et seq.), and left them only the single kingdom of Grenada.

These wars against the Mahometans were the occasion of several religious and military orders being founded in Spain. Of these, the most ancient was that founded and fixed at Alcantara (1156), whence it took its name; having for its badge or decoration a green cross, in form of the lily, or *fleur-de-lis*. The order of Calatrava was instituted in 1158; it was confirmed by Pope Alexander III. (1164), and assumed as its distinctive mark the red cross, also in form of the lily. The

order of St James of Campostella, founded in 1161, and confirmed by the same Pope (1175), was distinguished by a red cross, in form of a sword. Finally, the order of Montesa (1317), supplanted that of the Templars in the kingdom of Arragon.

The Kings of Castille and Arragon having conquered from the Arabs a part of what is properly called Portugal, formed it into a distinct government, under the name of *Portocalo*, or Portugal. Henry of Burgundy, a French prince, grandson of Robert, called the Old, Duke of Burgundy, and great-grandson of Robert II., King of France, having distinguished himself by his bravery in the wars between the Castillians and the Mahometans, Alphonso VI., King of Castille, wished to attach the young prince to him by the ties of blood; and, for this purpose, gave him in marriage his daughter the Infant Donna Theresa; and created him Count of Portugal (1090). This State, including at first merely the cities of Oporto, Braga, Miranda, Lamego, Viséo, and Coimbra, began to assume its present form, in the reign of Alphonso I., son of Count Henry. The Mahometans, alarmed at the warlike propensities of the young Alphonso, had marched with a superior force to attack him by surprise. Far from being intimidated by the danger, this prince, to animate the courage of his troops, pretended that an apparition from heaven had authorized him to proclaim himself King in the face of the army, in virtue of an express order which he said he had received from Christ.²⁹ He then marched against the enemy, and totally routed them in the plains of Ourique (1139). This victory, famous in the annals of Portugal, paved

the way for the conquest of the cities Leiria, Santarem, Lisbon, Cintra, Alcazar do Sal, Evora, and Elvas, situated on the banks of the Tagus. Moreover, to secure the protection of the Court of Rome against the Kings of Leon, who disputed with him the independence of his new state, Alphonso took the resolution of acknowledging himself vassal and tributary to the Holy See (1142). He afterwards convoked the estates of his kingdom at Lamego, and there declared his independence by a fundamental law, which also regulated the order of succession to the throne. Sancho I., son and successor of Alphonso, took from the Mahometans the town of Silves in Algarve; and Alphonso III., soon after, (1249), completed the conquest of that province.

The first Kings of Portugal, in order to gain the protection of the Court of Rome, were obliged to grant extensive benefices to the ecclesiastics, with regalian rights, and the exemption of the clergy from the secular jurisdiction. Their successors, however, finding themselves firmly established on the throne, soon changed their policy, and manifested as much of indifference for the clergy as Alphonso I. had testified of kindness and attachment to them. Hence originated a long series of broils and quarrels with the Court of Rome. Pope Innocent IV. deposed Sancho II. (1245), and appointed Alphonso III. in his place. Denys, son and successor of this latter prince, was excommunicated for the same reason, and compelled to sign a treaty (1289), by which the clergy were reestablished in all their former rights.

In France, the whole policy of the Kings was directed against their powerful vassals, who shared

among them the finest provinces of that kingdom. The Dukes of Burgundy, Normandy, and Aquitaine; the Counts of Flanders, Champagne, and Toulouse; the Dukes of Bretagne, the Counts of Poitiers, Bar, Blois, Anjou and Maine, Alençon, Auvergne, Angoulême, Perigord, Carcassonne, ³⁰ &c. formed so many petty sovereigns, equal in some respects to the electors and princes of the Germanic empire. Several circumstances, however, contributed to maintain the balance in favour of royalty. The crown was hereditary, and the demesne lands belonging to the king, which, being very extensive, gave him a power which far outweighed that of any individual vassal. Besides, these same demesnes being situate in the centre of the kingdom, enabled the sovereign to observe the conduct of his vassals, to divide their forces, and prevent any one from preponderating over another. The perpetual wars which they waged with each other, the tyranny which they exercised over their dependants, and the enlightened policy of several of the French kings, by degrees reestablished the royal authority, which had been almost annihilated under the last princes of the Carolingian dynasty.

It was at this period that the rivalry between France and England had its origin. The fault that Philip I. committed, in making no opposition to the conquest of England, by William Duke of Normandy, his vassal, served to kindle the flame of war between these princes. The war which took place in 1087, was the first that happened between the two nations; it was renewed under the subsequent reigns, and this rivalry was still more increased, on occasion of the unfortunate divorce between Louis VII. and Eleanor of Poitou, heiress

of Guienne, Poitou, and Gascogne. This divorced Princess married (1152) Henry, surnamed Plantagenet, Duke of Normandy, Count of Anjou and Maine, and afterwards King of England; and brought him, in dowry, the whole of her vast possessions. But it was reserved for Philip Augustus to repair the faults of his predecessors. This great monarch, whose courage was equal to his prudence and his policy, recovered his superiority over England; he strengthened his power and authority by the numerous accessions which he made to the crown-lands, ³¹ (1180–1220). Besides Artois, Vermandois, the earldoms of Evreux, Auvergne, and Alençon, which he annexed under different titles, he took advantage of the civil commotions which had arisen in England against King John, to dispossess the English of Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Lorraine, and Poitou (1203); and he maintained these conquests by the brilliant victory which he gained at Bouvines (1214), over the combined forces of England, the Emperor Otho, and the Count of Flanders. ³²

Several of the French kings were exclusively occupied with the crusades in the East. Louis VII., Philip Augustus, and Louis IX. took the cross, and marched in person to the Holy Land. These ultra-marine expeditions (1147, 1248), which required great and powerful resources, could not but exhaust France; while, on the contrary, the crusades which Louis VIII. undertook against the Albigenses and their protectors, the Counts of Toulouse and Carcassonne, considerably augmented the royal power. Pope Innocent III., by proclaiming this crusade (1208), raised a tedious and bloody war, which desolated Languedoc; and dur-

ing which, fanaticism perpetrated atrocities which make humanity to shudder. Simon, Count Monfort, the chief or general of these crusaders, had the whole estates of the counts of Toulouse adjudged him by the Pope. Amauri, the son and heir of Simon, surrendered his claims over these forfeitures to Louis VIII. King of France (1226); and it was this circumstance that induced Louis to march in person at the head of the crusaders, against the Count of Toulouse, his vassal and cousin. He died at the close of this expedition, leaving to his son and successor, Louis IX., the task of finishing this disastrous war. By the peace which was concluded at Paris (1229), between the King and the Count, the greater part of Languedoc was allowed to remain in the possession of Louis. One arrangement of this treaty was the marriage of the Count's daughter with Alphonso, brother to the King; with this express clause, that failing heirs of this marriage, the whole territory of Toulouse should revert to the crown. The same treaty adjudged to the Pope the county of Venaissin, as an escheat of the Counts of Toulouse; and the Count of Carcassonne, implicated also in the cause of the Albigenses, was compelled to cede to the King all right over the viscounties of Beziers, Carcassonne, Agde, Rodez, Albi, and Nismes. One consequence of this bloody war was the establishment of the terrible tribunal of the Inquisition,³³ and the founding of the order of Dominicans.³⁴

Henry II., a descendant of the house of Plantagenet, having mounted the throne of England, in right of his mother Matilda, annexed to that crown the duchy of Normandy, the countries of Anjou,

Touraine, and Maine, together with Guienne, Gasconne and Poitou. He afterwards added Ireland, which he subdued in 1172. This island, which had never been conquered, either by the Romans, or the barbarians who had desolated Europe, was, at that time, divided into five principal sovereignties, viz. Munster, Ulster, Connaught, Leinster, and Meath, whose several chiefs all assumed the title of Kings. One of these princes enjoyed the dignity of monarch of the island; but he had neither authority sufficient to secure internal tranquillity, nor power enough to repel with success the attacks of enemies from without. It was this state of weakness that induced Henry to attempt the conquest of the island. He obtained the sanction of Pope Adrian IV., by a bull in 1155, and undertook, in a formal engagement, to subject the Irish to the jurisdiction of the Holy See, and the payment of *Peter's pence*.³⁵ The expulsion of Dermot King of Leinster, who had rendered himself odious by his pride and his tyranny, furnished Henry with a pretext for sending troops into that island, to assist the dethroned prince in recovering his dominions. The success of the English, and the victories which they gained over Roderic, King of Connaught, who at that time was chief monarch of the island, determined Henry to undertake, in person, an expedition into Ireland (in October 1172.) He soon reduced the provinces of Leinster and Munster to submission; and after having constructed several forts, and nominated a viceroy and other crown officers, he took his departure without completing the conquest of the island. Roderic, King of Connaught, submitted in 1175; but it was not till the reign of Queen Elizabeth

that the entire reduction of Ireland was accomplished.

In England, the rashness and rapacity of John, son of Henry II., occasioned a mighty revolution in the government. The discontented nobles, with the Archbishop of Canterbury at their head, joined in a league against the King. Pope Innocent III. formally deposed him, made over his kingdom to the Crown of France, and proclaimed a crusade against him in every country of Europe. John obtained an accommodation with the Pope; and in order to secure his protection, he consented to become a vassal of the Church, both for England and Ireland; engaging to pay his Holiness, besides Peter's pence, an annual tribute of a thousand marks. But all in vain; the nobles persisted in their revolt, and forced the King to grant them the grand charter of *Magna Charta*, by which he and his successors were forever deprived of the power of exacting subsidies without the counsel and advice of Parliament; which did not then include the Commons. He granted to the city of London, and to all cities and burghs in the kingdom, a renewal of their ancient liberties and privileges, and the right of not being taxed except with the advice and consent of the common council. Moreover, the lives and properties of the citizens were secured by this charter; one clause of which expressly provided, that no subject could be either arrested, imprisoned, dispossessed of his fortune, or deprived of his life, except by a legal sentence of his peers, conform to the ancient law of the country. This charter, which was renewed in various subsequent reigns, forms, at this day, the basis of the English Constitution.

King John, meantime, rebelled against this charter, and caused it to be rescinded by Pope Innocent III., who even issued a bull of excommunication against the barons; but they, far from being disconcerted or intimidated, made an offer of their crown to Louis, son of Philip Augustus King of France. This prince repaired to England, and there received the fealty and homage of the grantees and the nation. John, abandoned by all his subjects, attempted to take refuge in Scotland; but he died in his flight at the Castle of Newark. His death made a sudden change in the minds and sentiments of the English. The barons forsook the standard of the French prince, and rallied round that of young Henry, son of King John, whose long and unfortunate reign was a succession of troubles and intestine wars. Edward I., son and successor of Henry III., as determined and courageous as his father had been weak and indolent, restored tranquillity to England, and made his name illustrious by the conquest which he made of the principality of Wales.

This district, from the most remote antiquity, was ruled by its own native princes, descended from the ancient British kings. Although they had been vassals and tributaries of the kings of England, they exercised, nevertheless, the rights of sovereignty in their own country. Lewellyn, prince of Wales, having espoused the cause of the insurgents in the reign of Henry III., and made some attempts to withdraw from the vassalage of the English crown, Edward I. declared war against him (1282); and in a battle fought near the Menau, Lewellyn was defeated and slain, with 2000 of his followers. David, his brother and

successor, met with a fate still more melancholy. Having been taken prisoner by Edward, he was condemned to death, and executed like a traitor (1283). The territory of Wales was annexed to the crown; the king created his eldest son Edward, Prince of Wales; a title which has since been borne by the eldest sons of the kings of England.

At this period, the kingdoms of the North presented, in general, little else than a spectacle of horror and carnage. The warlike and ferocious temper of the Northern nations, the want of fixed and specific laws in the succession of their kings,³⁶ gave rise to innumerable factions, encouraged insolence, and fomented troubles and intestine wars. An extravagant and superstitious devotion, by loading the church with wealth, aggravated still more the evils with which these kingdoms were distracted. The bishops and the new metropolitans,³⁷ enriched at the expense of the crownlands, and rendered bold by their power, and the strength of their castles, domineered in the senate and the assemblies of the states, and neglected no opportunity of encroaching on the sovereign's authority. They obtained, by compulsion, the introduction of tithes, and the immunity of the ecclesiastics; and thus more and more increased and cemented the sacerdotal power.³⁸ This state of trouble and internal commotion tended to abate that ardour for maritime incursions which had so long agitated the Scandinavian nations. It did not, however, prevent the kings of Denmark and Sweden from undertaking, from time to time, expeditions by sea, under the name of Crusades, for

the conversion of the Pagan nations of the North, whose territories they were ambitious to conquer.

The Slavians, who inhabited the coasts of the Baltic, were then constantly committing piracies, in imitation of the ancient Normans, plundering and ravaging the provinces and islands of Denmark. Valdemar I., wishing to put an end to these devastations, and thirsting moreover for the glory of converting to Christianity those nations against whom all the efforts of the Germans had failed, attacked them at different times with his numerous flotillas. He took and pillaged several of their towns, such as Arcona and Carentz or Gartz, in the isle of Rugen (1168), Julin, now called Wollin, and Stettin, two sea-ports in Pomerania (1175-6). He made the princes of Rugen his vassals and tributaries, and is generally regarded as the founder of Dantzic (1165), which originally was merely a fort constructed by the Danes. Canute VI., son and successor of Valdemar I., followed the example of his father; he reduced the princes of Pomerania (1183) and Mecklenburg (1186), and the counts of Schwerin (1201); to a state of dependence; he made himself master of Hamburg and Lubec, and subdued the whole of Holstein. Valdemar II. assumed the title of King of the Slavians, and Lord of *Nordalbingia*. He added Lauenburg, a part of Prussia, Estonia, and the Isle of Oesel, to the conquests of his predecessors, and became the founder of the cities of Stralsund and Revel (1209 and 1222).

This prince, master of nearly the whole southern coast of the Baltic, and raised to the summit of prosperity by the superiority of his commercial and maritime power, commanded for a time the

attention of all Europe ; but an unforeseen event eclipsed his glory, and deprived him of all the advantages of his victories and his conquests. Henry, Count of Schwerin, one of the vassals of Valdemar, wishing to avenge an outrage which he pretended to have received from him, seized that prince by surprise (1223), and detained him for three years prisoner in the castle of Schwerin. This circumstance aroused the courage of the other vanquished nations, who instantly took to arms. Adolphus, Count of Schauenburg, penetrated into Holstein, and subdued the princes of Mecklenburg and Pomerania, with the cities of Hamburg and Lubec. Valdemar, restored to liberty, made several efforts to reconquer his revolted provinces ; but a powerful confederacy being formed against him, he was defeated in a battle fought (1227), at Bornhoevet, near Segeberg, in Holstein. Of all his conquests, he retained only the Isle of Rugen, Estonia, and the town of Revel, which, in course of time, were lost or abandoned by his successors.

Sweden, which had been governed in succession by the dynasties of *Stenkil*, *Swerkar*, and *St Eric*, was long a prey to internal dissensions, which arose principally from the two different forms of worship professed and authorized by the state. The whole nation, divided in their religious sentiments, saw themselves arranged into two factions, and under two reigning families, mutually hating and exasperated against each other, for nearly half a century. Two, and sometimes more, princes were seen reigning at once from 1080 till 1133, when the throne began to be occupied ultimately by the descendants of Sweyn and St Eric. During all this time, violence usurped the place of right, and

the crown of Sweden was more than once the prize of assassination and treason.

In the midst of these intestine disorders, we find the Swedes even attempting foreign conquests. To these they were instigated both by the genius of the age, which encouraged crusades and military missions, as well as by the desire of avenging the piracies which the Finlanders, and other Pagan tribes of the North, committed from time to time on the coasts of Sweden. St Eric became at once the apostle and the conqueror of Finland (1157); he established also a Swedish colony in Nyland, and subdued the provinces of Helsingland and Jamptland. Charles I., son of Swerkar, united the kingdom of Gothland to Sweden, and was the first that took the title of these two kingdoms. Eric, surnamed *Laspe*, or the Lisper, resumed the crusading system of warfare; and, in the character of a missionary, conquered Tavastland and the eastern part of Bothnia. Birger, a prince of the Folkungian dynasty, who ascended the throne of Sweden in 1250, conquered, under the same pretext, Carelia and Savolax, and fortified Viburg. He compelled the inhabitants of these countries to embrace the Christian religion (1293), and annexed them to Finland. We find, also, several of the Swedish kings undertaking missionary expeditions against their Pagan neighbours the Estonians, who, from time to time, committed dreadful ravages on the coasts of Sweden. These expeditions, which were always esteemed sacred, served as an excuse for the sovereigns of the North in avoiding the crusades to the Holy Land, in which they took no part. ³⁹

Prussia and the Prussians are totally unknown

in history before the end of the tenth century.⁴⁰ The author of the Life of St Adelbert of Prague, who suffered martyrdom in Prussia in the reign of Otho III., is the first that mentions them under this new name (997). Two hundred years after, the Abbé of Oliva, surnamed the Christian, became the apostle of the Prussians, and was appointed by Pope Innocent III. the first bishop of Prussia (1215). This idolatrous nation, haughty and independent, and attached to the reigning superstition, having repulsed all the efforts that were repeatedly made to convert them to Christianity, Pope Honorius III., in the true spirit of his age, published a Crusade against them (1218), to proselytize them by force. Armies of crusaders were poured into Prussia, and overran the whole country with fire and sword. The Prussians took cruel vengeance on the Polonese of Masovia, who had made common cause against them with the crusaders of the East. At length, Conrad, duke of Masovia, finding himself too weak to withstand the fury of the Prussians, called in the Teutonic knights to his aid ; and, anxious to secure forever the assistance and protection of that order, he made them a grant of the territory of Culm ; and moreover, promised them whatever lands he might conquer from the common enemy (1226). This contract having been sanctioned by the Emperor Frederic II., the knights speedily came into possession of their new dominions (1230). They extended themselves by degrees over all Prussia, after a long and murderous war, which they had carried on against the idolatrous natives. That country, which had been peopled by numerous German

colonies in succession, did not submit to the yoke of the Teutonic order, until the greater part of its ancient inhabitants had been destroyed. The Knights took care to confirm their authority and their religion in Prussia, by constructing cities and forts, and founding bishoprics and convents. The city of Koninsberg⁴¹ on the Pregel, was built in 1255; and that of Marienburg on the Nogat, which became the capital of the Order, is supposed to have been founded in 1280.

The Teutonic knights completed the conquest of that country (1283), by the reduction of Sudavia, the last of the eleven provinces which composed ancient Prussia. We can scarcely conceive how a handful of these knights should have been able, in so short a time, to vanquish a warlike and powerful nation, inspired with the love of liberty, and emboldened by fanaticism to make the most intrepid and obstinate defence. But we ought to take into consideration, that the indulgences of the court of Rome allured continually into Prussia a multitude of crusaders from all the provinces of the Empire; and that the knights gained these over to their ranks, by distributing among them the lands which they had won by conquest. In this way, their numbers were incessantly recruited by new colonies of crusaders, and the nobles flocked in crowds to their standard, to seek territorial acquisitions in Prussia.

The increase of commerce on the Baltic, in the twelfth century, led the Germans to discover the coasts of Livonia. Some merchants from Bremen, on their way to Wisby, in the island of Gothland, a sea-port on the Baltic very much frequented at that time, were thrown by a tempest on the coast

near the mouth of the Dwina (1158). The desire of gain induced them to enter into a correspondence with the natives of the country ; and, from a wish to give stability to a branch of commerce which might become very lucrative, they attempted to introduce the Christian religion into Livonia. A monk of Segeberg in Holstein, named Mainard, undertook this mission. He was the first bishop of Livonia (1192), and fixed his residence at the Castle of Uxkull, which he strengthened by fortifications. Berthold, his successor wishing to accelerate the progress of Christianity, as well as to avoid the dangers to which his mission exposed him, caused the Pope to publish a crusade against the Livonians. This zealous prelate perished sword in hand, fighting against the people whom he intended to convert. The priests, after this, were either massacred or expelled from Livonia ; but, in a short time, a new army of crusaders marched into the country, under the banner of Albert, the third bishop, who built the city of Riga, (1200) which became the seat of his bishopric, and afterwards the metropolitan see of all Prussia and Livonia. The same prelate founded the military order of the *Knights of Christ* or *Sword-bearers*, to whom he ceded the third of all the countries he had conquered. This order, confirmed by Pope Innocent III. (1204), finding themselves too weak to oppose the Pagans of Livonia, agreed to unite with the Teutonic order (1237), who, at that time, nominated the generals or provincial masters in Livonia, known by the names of *Heermeister* and *Landmeister*. Pope Gregory IX., in confirming the union of these two orders, exacted the surrender of the districts of Revel, Wesenberg, Weisen-

stein, and Hapsal, to Valdemar II., which the knights, with consent of the Bishop of Dorpat, had taken from him during his captivity. This retrocession was made by an act passed at Strensby, (1238). Several documents which still exist in the private archives of the Teutonic order at Königsberg, and especially two, dated 1249 and 1254, prove that, at this period, the bishops of Riga still exercised superiority, both temporal and spiritual, over these Knights Sword-bearers, although they were united with the Teutonic order, which was independent of these bishops. The combination of these two orders rendered them so powerful, that they gradually extended their conquests over all Prussia, Livonia, Courland, and Semigallia; but they could never succeed farther than to subject these nations to a rigorous servitude, under pretence of conversion.

Before we speak of Russia and the other Eastern countries of Europe, it will be necessary to turn our attention for a little to the Moguls, whose conquests and depredations extended, in the thirteenth century, from the extremity of northern Asia, over Russia and the greater part of Europe. The native country of this people is found to be those same regions which they still inhabit in our day, and which are situated to the north of the great wall of China, between Eastern Tartary and modern Bukharia. They are generally confounded with the Tartars, from whom they differ essentially, both in their appearance and manners, as well as in their religion and political institutions. This nation is divided into two principal branches, the *Eluths* or *Oelots*, better known by the name of *Calmucs*, and the *Moguls*, properly so called.

These latter, separated from the Calmucs by the mountains of Altai, are now subject to the dominion of China.

The Moguls, scarcely known at present in the history of Europe, owe their greatness to the genius of one man—the famous Zinghis Khan. This extraordinary person, whose real name was *Temudgin*, or, according to Pallas, *Dæmutschin*, was born in the year 1163, and originally nothing more than the chief of a particular horde of Moguls, who had settled on the banks of the rivers Onon and Kerlon, and were tributary to the empire of Kin. His first exploits were against the other hordes of Moguls, whom he compelled to acknowledge his authority. Emboldened by success, he conceived the romantic idea of aspiring to be the conqueror of the world. For this purpose, he assembled near the source of the river Onon, in 1206, all the chiefs of the Mogul hordes, and the generals of his armies. A certain pretender to inspiration, whom the people regarded as a holy man, appeared in the assembly, and declared that it was the will of God that Temudgin should rule over the whole earth,—that all nations should submit to him,—and that henceforth he should bear the title of *Tschinghis-Khan*, or *Most Great Emperor*.⁴²

In a short time, this new conqueror subdued the two great empires of the Tartars; one of which, called also the empire of *Kin*, embraced the whole of Eastern Tartary, and the northern part of China; the other, that of Kara-Kitai, or the Khitans, extended over Western Tartary, and had its capital at Kaschgar in Bukharia.⁴³ He afterwards

attacked the Carismian Sultans who ruled over Turkestan, Transoxiana, Charasm, Chorasán, and all Persia, from Derbent to Irak-Arabia and the Indies. This powerful monarchy was overturned by Zinghis-Khan, in the course of six campaigns; and it was during this war that the Moguls, while marching under the conduct of Tóushi, the eldest son of Zinghis-Khan, against the Kipzacs or Capchacs, to the north of the Caspian Sea, made their first inroad into the Russian empire. Zinghis, after having subdued the whole of Tangout, died in the sixty-fifth year of his age (1227). Historians have remarked in him the traits of a great man, born to command others, but whose noble qualities were tarnished by the ferocity of his nature, which took delight in carnage, plunder, and devastation. Humanity shudders at the recital of the inexpressible horrors exercised by this barbarian, whose maxim was to exterminate, without mercy, all who offered the least resistance to his victorious arms.

The successors of this Mogul conqueror followed him in his career of victory. They achieved the conquest of all China, overturned the caliphate of Bagdat, and rendered the sultans of Iconium their tributaries.⁴⁴ Octai-Khan, the immediate successor of Zinghis, despatched from the centre of China two powerful armies; the one against Corea, and the other against the nations that lie to the north and north-west of the Caspian Sea. This latter expedition, which had for its chiefs Gáyouk, son of Octai, and Batou, eldest son of Tóushi, and grandson of Zinghis-Khan, after having subdued all Kipzak, penetrated into Russia, which they conquered in 1237. Hence they spread over Poland,

Silesia, Moravia, Hungary, and the countries bordering on the Adriatic Sea ; they plundered cities, laid waste the country, and carried terror and destruction wherever they went.⁴⁵ All Europe trembled at the sight of these barbarians, who seemed as if they wished to make the whole earth one vast empire of desolation. The empire of the Moguls attained its highest point of elevation under Cublai, grandson of Zinghis, towards the end of the tenth century. From south to north, it extended from the Chinese Sea and the Indies, to the extremity of Siberia ; and from east to west, from Japan to Asia Minor, and the frontiers of Poland in Europe. China, and Chinese Tartary formed the seat of the empire, and the residence of the Great Khan ; while the other parts of the dominions were governed by princes of the family of Zinghis Khan, who either acknowledged the Great Khan as their supreme master, or had their own particular kings and chiefs that paid him tribute. The principal subordinate Khans of the race of Zinghis, were those of Persia, Zagatai, and Kipzac. Their dependence on the Great Khan or emperor of China, ceased entirely on the death of Cublai (1294), and the power of the Moguls soon became extinct in China.⁴⁶

As for the Moguls of Kipzac, their dominion extended over all the Tartar countries situated to the north of the Caspian and the Euxine, as also over Russia and the Crimea. Batou-Khan, eldest son of Toushi, was the founder of this dynasty. Being addicted to a wandering life, the Khans of Kipzac encamped on the banks of the Wolga, passing from one place to another with their tents and flocks, according to the custom of the Mogul and

Tartar nations.⁴⁷ The principal sect of these Khans was called the *Grand or Golden Horde* or the *Horde of Kipzac*, which was long an object of the greatest terror to the Russians, Poles, Lithuanians and Hungarians. Its glory declined towards the end of the fourteenth century, and entirely disappeared under the last Khan Achmet, in 1481. A few separate hordes were all that remained, detached from the grand horde, such as those of Casan, Astracan, Siberia and the Crimea; —all of which were in their turn subdued or extirpated by the Russians.⁴⁸

A crowd of princes, descendants of Vlademir the Great, had shared among them the vast dominions of Russia. One of these princes invested with the dignity of Grand Duke, exercised certain rights of superiority over the rest, who nevertheless acted the part of petty sovereigns, and made war on each other. The capital of these Grand Dukes was Kiow, which was also regarded as the metropolis of the empire. Andrew I. prince of Suzdal, having assumed the title of Grand Duke (1157), fixed his residence at Vlademir on the river Kliazma, and thus gave rise to a kind of political schism, the consequences of which were most fatal to the Russians. The Grand Duchy of Kiow, with its dependant principalities, detached themselves by degrees from the rest of the empire, and finally became a prey to the Lithuanians and Poles.

In the midst of these divisions and intestine broils, and when Russia was struggling with difficulty against the Bulgarians, Polowzians,⁴⁹ and other barbarous tribes in the neighbourhood, she had the misfortune to be attacked by the Moguls under

Zinghis Khan. Touthi, eldest son of that conqueror, having marched round the Caspian, in order to attack the Polowzians, encountered on his passage the Princes of Kiow, who were allies of that people. The battle which he fought (1223), on the banks of the river Kalka, was one of the most sanguinary recorded in history. The Russians were totally defeated; six of their princes perished on the field of battle; and the whole of Western Russia was laid open to the conqueror. The Moguls penetrated as far as Novogorod, wasting the whole country on their march with fire and sword. They returned by the same route, but without extending their ravages farther. In 1237 they made a second invasion, under the conduct of Batou, son of Touthi, and governor of the northern parts of the Mogul empire. This prince, after having vanquished the Polowzians and Bulgarians, that is the whole country of Kipzac, entered the north of Russia, where he took Rugen and Moscow, and cut to pieces an army of the Russians near Kolomna. Several other towns in this part of Russia were sacked by the Moguls, in the commencement of the following year. The family of the Grand Duke, Juri II., perished in the sack of Vlademir; and he himself fell in the battle which he fought with the Moguls near the river Sita. Batou extended his conquests in northern Russia as far as the city Torshok, in the territory of Novogorod. For some years he continued his ravages over the whole of Western Russia; where, among others, he took Kiow, Kaminiec in Podolia, Vlademir and Halitsch. From this we may date the fall of the Grand Duchy of Kiow, or Western Russia, which, with its dependent principalities in the fol-

lowing century, came into the possession of the Lithuanians and Poles. As for the Grand Duchy of Vlademir, which comprehended Eastern and Northern Russia, it was subdued by the Moguls or Tartars, whose terrible yoke it wore for more than two hundred years. ⁵⁰

An extraordinary person who appeared at this disastrous crisis, preserved that part of Russia from sinking into total ruin. This was Prince Alexander, son of the Grand Duke, Jaroslaus II., who obtained the epithet or surname of *Newski*, from a victory which he gained over the Knights of Livonia near the Neva, (1241). Elevated by the Khan Batou, to the dignity of Grand Duke (1245), he secured, by his prudent conduct, his punctuality in paying tribute, and preserving his allegiance to the Mogul emperors, the good will of these new masters of Russia, during his whole reign. When this great prince died in 1261, his name was enrolled in their calendar of saints. Peter the Great built, in honour of his memory, a convent on the banks of the Neva, to which he gave the name of Alexander Newski; and the Empress Catherine I., instituted an order of knighthood that was also called after the name of that prince.

Poland, which was divided among several princes of the Piast dynasty, had become, at the time of which we speak, a prey to intestine factions, and exposed to the incursions of the neighbouring barbarians. These divisions, the principal source of all the evils that afflicted Poland, continued down to the death of Boleslaus II. (1138), who, having portioned his estates among his sons, ordered that the eldest should retain the district of Cracow, under the title of Monarch, and that he

should exercise the rights of superiority over the provincial dukes and princes, his brothers. This clause, which might have prevented the dismemberment of the state, served only to kindle the flame of discord among these collegatory princes. Uladislaus, who is generally considered as the eldest of these sons, having attempted to dispossess his brothers (1146), they rose in arms, expelled him from Poland, and obliged his descendants to content themselves with Silesia. His sons founded, in that country, numerous families of dukes and princes, who introduced German colonies into Silesia; all of which, in course of time, became subject to the kings of Bohemia. Conrad, son of Casimir the Just, and grandson of Boleslaus III., was the ancestor of the Dukes of Cujavia and Masovia. It was this prince who called in the assistance of the Teutonic Knights against the Pagans of Prussia, and established that order in the territory of Culm (1230).

The Moguls, after having vanquished Russia, took possession of Poland (1240). Having gained the victory at the battle of Schiedlow, they set fire to Cracow, and then marched to Lignitz in Silesia, where a numerous army of crusaders were assembled under the command of Henry, duke of Breslau. This prince was defeated, and slain in the action. The whole of Silesia, as well as Moravia, was cruelly pillaged and desolated by the Moguls.

Hungary, at this period, presented the spectacle of a warlike and barbarous nation, the ferocity of whose manners cannot be better attested than by the laws passed in the reigns of Ladislaus and Coloman, about the end of the eleventh and be-

ginning of the twelfth century. Crimes were then punished either with the loss of liberty, or of some member of the body, such as the eye, the nose, the tongue, &c. These laws were published in their general assemblies, which were composed of the king, the great officers of the crown, and the representatives of the clergy and the free men. All the other branches of the executive power pertained to the kings, who made war and peace at their pleasure ; while the counts or governors of provinces claimed no power either personal or hereditary. ⁵¹

Under a government so despotic, it was easy for the kings of Hungary to enlarge the boundaries of their states. Ladislaus took from the Greeks the duchy of Sirmium (1080), comprising the lower part of Sclavonia. This same prince extended his conquests into Croatia, a country which was governed for several ages by the Slavian princes, who possessed Upper Sclavonia, and ruled over a great part of ancient Illyria and Dalmatia, to which they gave the name of Croatia. Dircislaus was the first of these princes that took the title of king (in 984). Demetrius Swinimir, one of his successors, did homage to the Pope, in order to obtain the protection of the Holy See (1076). The line of these kings having become extinct some time after, Ladislaus, whose sister had been married to Demetrius Swinimir, took advantage of the commotion that had arisen in Croatia, and conquered a great part of that kingdom (1091), and especially Upper Sclavonia, which was one of its dependencies. Coloman completed their conquest in 1102, and the same year he was crowned at Belgrade king of Croatia and Dalmatia. In course

of a few years, he subdued the maritime cities of Dalmatia, such as Spalatro, Trau, and Zara, which he took from the republic of Venice.⁵² The kingdom of Rama or Bosnia, fell at the same time under his power. He took the title of King of Rama (1103); and Bela II., his successor, made over the duchy of Bosnia to Ladislaus, his younger son. The sovereignty of the Kings of Hungary was also occasionally acknowledged by the princes and kings of Bulgaria and Servia, and even by the Russian princes of Halitsch and Wolodimir.

These conquests gave rise to an abuse which soon proved fatal to Hungary. The kings claimed for themselves the right of disposing of the newly conquered provinces in favour of their younger sons, to whom they granted them under the title of duchies, and with the rights of sovereignty. These latter made use of their supreme power to excite factions and stir up civil wars.

The reign of King Andrew II. was rendered remarkable by a revolution which happened in the government (1217). This prince having undertaken an expedition to the Holy Land, which he equipped at an extravagant and ruinous expense, the nobles availed themselves of his absence to augment their own power, and usurp the estates and revenues of the crown. Corruption had pervaded every branch of the administration; and the king, after his return, made several ineffectual efforts to remedy the disorders of the government, and recruit his exhausted finances. At length he adopted the plan of assembling a general Diet (1222), in which was passed the famous decree

or *Golden Bull* which forms the basis of that defective constitution which prevails in Hungary at this day. The property of the clergy and the noblesse were there declared exempt from taxes and military cess ; the nobles acquired hereditary possession of the royal grants which they had received in recompense for their services ; they were freed from the obligation of marching at their own expense on any expedition out of the kingdom ; and even the right of resistance was allowed them, in case the king should infringe any article of the decree. It was this king also (Andrew II.) that conferred several important privileges and immunities on the Saxons, or Germans of Transylvania, who had been invited thither by Geisa II. about the year 1142.

Under the reign of Bela IV. (1241) Hungary was suddenly inundated with an army of Moguls, commanded by several chiefs, the principal of whom were Batou, the son of Toushi, and Gayouk son of the great Khan Octai. The Hungarians, sunk in effeminacy and living in perfect security, had neglected to provide in time for their defence. Having at length rallied round the banner of their king, they pitched their camp very negligently on the banks of the Sajo, where they were surprised by the Moguls, who made terrible havoc of them. Coloman, the king's brother, was slain in the action ; and the king himself succeeded with difficulty in saving himself among the isles of Dalmatia. The whole of Hungary was now at the mercy of the conqueror, who penetrated with his victorious troops into Sclavonia, Croatia, Dalmatia, Bosnia, Servia, and Bulgaria ; every where glutting his fury with the blood of the people, which he shed in tor-

rents. These barbarians seemed determined to fix their residence in Hungary, when the news of the death of the Khan Octai, and the accession of his son Gayouk to the throne of China, induced them to abandon their conquest in less than three years, and return to the East loaded with immense booty. On hearing this intelligence, Bela ventured from his place of retreat and repaired to Hungary, where he assembled the remains of his subjects, who were wandering in the forests, or concealed among the mountains. He rebuilt the cities that were laid in ashes, imported new colonies from Croatia, Bohemia, Moravia, and Saxony; and, by degrees, restored life and vigour to the state, which had been almost annihilated by the Moguls.

The Empire of the Greeks, at this time, was gradually verging towards its downfall. Harassed on the east by the Seljukian Turks, infested on the side of the Danube by the Hungarians, the Patzinacites, the Uzes and the Cumans; ⁵³ and torn to pieces by factious and intestine wars, that Empire was making but a feeble resistance to the incessant attacks of its enemies, when it was suddenly threatened with entire destruction by the effects of the fourth crusade. The Emperor Isaac Angelus had been dethroned by his brother, Alexius III. (1195), who had cruelly caused his eyes to be put out. The son of Isaac, called also Alexius, found means to save his life; he repaired to Zara, in Dalmatia (1203), to implore the aid of the Crusaders, who, after having assisted the Venetians to recover that rebellious city, were on the point of setting sail for Palestine. The young Alexius offered to indemnify the Crusaders for the expenses of any ex-

pedition which they might undertake in his favour ; he gave them reason to expect a reunion of the two churches, and considerable supplies, both in men and money, to assist them in reconquering the Holy Land. Yielding to these solicitations, the allied chiefs, instead of passing directly to Syria, set sail for Constantinople. They immediately laid siege to the city, expelled the usurper, and restored Issac to the throne, in conjunction with his son Alexius.

Scarcely had the Crusaders quitted Constantinople, when a new revolution happened there. Another Alexius, surnamed *Mourzoufle*, excited an insurrection among the Greeks ; and having procured the death of the Emperors Isaac and Alexius, he made himself master of the throne. The Crusaders immediately returned, again laid siege to Constantinople, which they took by assault ; and after having slain the usurper, they elected a new Emperor in the person of Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, and one of the noble Crusaders.⁵⁴ This event transferred the Greek Empire to the Latins (1204). It was followed by a union of the two churches, which, however, was neither general nor permanent, as it terminated with the reign of the Latins at Constantinople.

Meantime, the Crusaders divided among themselves the provinces of the Greek Empire,—both those which they had already seized, and those which yet remained to be conquered. The greater part of the maritime coasts of the Adriatic, Greece, the Archipelego, the Propontis, and the Euxine ; the islands of the Cyclades and Sporades, and those of the Adriatic, were adjudged to the republic of Venice. Boniface, Marquis of Mont-

ferrat, and commander-in-chief of the crusade, obtained for his share the island of Crete or Candia, and all that belonged to the Empire beyond the Bosphorus. He afterwards sold Candia to the Venetians, who took possession of it in 1207. The other chiefs of the Crusaders had also their portions of the dismembered provinces. None of them, however, were to possess the countries that were assigned them, except under the title of vassals to the Empire, and by acknowledging the sovereignty of Baldwin.

In the midst of this general overthrow, several of the Greek princes attempted to preserve the feeble remains of their Empire. Theodore Lascaris, son-in-law of the Emperor Alexius III., resolved on the conquest of the Greek provinces in Asia. He made himself master of Bithynia, Lydia, part of the coasts of the Archipelago, and Phrygia, and was crowned Emperor at Nice in 1206. About the same period, Alexius and David Commenus, grandsons of the Emperor Andronicus I., having taken shelter in Pontus, laid there the foundation of a new Empire, which had for its capital the city of Trebizond.

At length Michael Angelus Commenus took possession of Durazzo, which he erected into a considerable state, extending from Durazzo to the Gulf of Lepanto, and comprehending Epirus, Acarnania, Etolia, and part of Thessaly. All these princes assumed the rank and dignity of Emperors. The most powerful among them was Theodore Lascaris, Emperor of Nice. His successors found little difficulty in resuming, by degrees, their superiority over the Latin Emperors. They re-

duced them at last to the single city of Constantinople, of which Michael Paleologus, Emperor of Nice, undertook the siege; and, with the assistance of the Genoese vessels, he made himself master of it in 1261. Baldwin II., the last of the Latin Emperors, fled to the Isle of Negropont, whence he passed into Italy; and his conqueror became the ancestor of all the Emperors of the House of Paleologus, that reigned at Constantinople until the taking of that capital by the Turks in 1453.

It now remains for us to cast a glance at the revolutions of Asia, closely connected with those of Europe, on account of the crusades and expeditions to the Holy Land. The Empire of the Seljukian Turks had been divided into several dynasties, or distinct sovereignties; the Atabeks of Irak, and a number of petty princes, reigned in Syria and the neighbouring countries; the Fata-mite Caliphs of Egypt were masters of Jerusalem, and part of Palestine, when the mania of the crusades converted that region of the East into a theatre of carnage and devastation. For two hundred years Asia was seen contending with Europe, and the Christian nations making the most extraordinary efforts to maintain the conquest of Palestine and the neighbouring states, against the arms of the Mahometans.

At length there arose among the Mussulmans a man of superior genius, who rendered himself formidable by his warlike prowess to the Christians in the East, and deprived them of the fruits of their numerous victories. This conqueror was the famous Saladin, or Salaheddin, the son of Ayoub or Job, and founder of the dynasty of the Ayoubites.

The Atabek Noureddin, son of Amadoddin Zenghi, had sent him into Egypt (1168) to assist the Fatamite Caliph against the Franks, or Crusaders of the West. While there, he was declared vizier and general of the armies of the Caliph; and so well had he established his power in that country, that he effected the substitution of the Abassidian Caliphs in place of the Fatamites; and ultimately caused himself to be proclaimed Sultan on the death of Nouredin (1171), under whom he had served in the quality of lieutenant. Having vanquished Egypt, he next subdued the dominions of Nouredin in Syria; and, after having extended his victories over this province, as well as Mesopotamia, Assyria, Armenia and Arabia, he turned his arms against the Christians in Palestine, whom he had hemmed in, as it were, with his conquests. These princes, separated into petty sovereignties, divided by mutual jealousy, and a prey to the distractions of anarchy, soon yielded to the valour of the heroic Mussulman. The battle which they fought (1187), at Hittin, near Tiberias (or Tabaria), was decisive. The Christians sustained a total defeat; and Guy of Lusignan, a weak prince without talents, and the last King of Jerusalem, fell into the hands of the conqueror. All the cities of Palestine opened their gates to Saladin, either voluntarily or at the point of the sword. Jerusalem surrendered after a siege of fourteen days. This defeat rekindled the zeal of the Christians in the West; and the most powerful sovereigns in Europe were again seen conducting innumerable armies to the relief of the Holy Land. But the talents and bravery of Saladin rendered all their efforts unavailing; and it was not till after a murderous siege fo

three years, that they succeeded in retaking the city of Ptolemais or Acre; and thus arresting for a short space the total extermination of the Christians in the East.

On the death of Saladin, whose heroism is extolled by Christian as well as Mahometan authors, his Empire was divided among his sons. Several princes, his dependants, and known by the name of Ayoubites, reigned afterwards in Egypt, Syria, Armenia, and Yemen or Arabia the Happy. These princes quarrelling and making war with each other, their territories fell, in the thirteenth century, under the dominion of the Mamelukes. These Mamelukes (an Arabic word which signifies a slave) were Turkish or Tartar captives, whom the Syrian merchants purchased from the Moguls, and sent into Egypt under the reign of the Sultan Saleh, of the Ayoubite dynasty. That prince bought them in vast numbers, and ordered them to be trained to the exercise of arms in one of the maritime cities of Egypt.⁵⁵ From this school he raised them to the highest offices of trust in the state, and even selected from them his own body guard. In a very short time, these slaves became so numerous and so powerful, that, in the end, they seized the government, after having assassinated the Sultan Touran Shah, (son and successor of Saleh), who had in vain attempted to disentangle himself of their chains, and recover the authority which they had usurped over him. This revolution (1250) happened in the very presence of St Louis, who, having been taken prisoner at the battle of Mansoura, had just concluded a truce of ten years with the Sultan of Egypt. The Mameluke Ibeg, who

was at first appointed regent or Atabek, was soon after proclaimed Sultan of Egypt.

The dominion of the Mamelukes existed in Egypt for the space of 263 years. Their numbers being constantly recruited by Turkish or Circassian slaves, they disposed of the throne of Egypt at their pleasure ; and the crown generally fell to the share of the most audacious of the gang, provided he was a native of Turkistan. These Mamelukes had even the courage to attack the Moguls, and took from them the kingdoms of Damascus and Aleppo in Syria (1210), of which the latter had dispossessed the Ayoubite princes. All the princes of this latter dynasty, with those of Syria and Yemen, adopted the expedient of submitting to the Mamelukes ; who, in order to become masters of all Syria, had only to reduce the cities and territories which the Franks, or Christians of the West, still retained in their possession. They first attacked the principality of Antioch, which they soon conquered (1268). They next turned their arms against the county of Tripoli, the capital of which they took by assault (1289). The city of Ptolemais shared the same fate ; after an obstinate and murderous siege, it was carried sword in hand. Tyre surrendered on capitulation ; and the Franks were entirely expelled from Syria and the East in the year 1291.

REVOLUTIONS OF EUROPE.

CHAPTER VI.

PERIOD V.

FROM POPE BONIFACE VIII. TO THE TAKING OF
CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE TURKS.

A. D. 1300—1453.

AT the commencement of this period, the Pontifical power was in the zenith of its grandeur. The Popes proudly assumed the title of Masters of the World; and asserted that their authority, by divine right, comprehended every other, both spiritual and temporal. Boniface VIII. went even farther than his predecessors had done. According to him, the secular power was nothing else than a mere emanation from the ecclesiastical; and this double power of the Pope was even made an article of belief, and founded on the sacred scriptures. "God has intrusted" (said he) "to St Peter and his successors, two swords, the one spiritual, and the other temporal. The former can be exercised by the church alone; the o-

ther, by the secular princes, for the service of the church, and in submission to the will of the Pope. This latter, that is, the temporal sword, is subordinate to the former; and all temporal authority necessarily depends on the spiritual, which judges it; whereas God alone can judge the spiritual power. Finally, (added he), it is absolutely indispensable to salvation, that every human creature be subject to the Pope of Rome." This same Pope published the first Jubilee (1300), with plenary indulgence for all who should visit the churches of St Peter and St Paul at Rome. An immense crowd from all parts of Christendom flocked to this capital of the Western world, and filled its treasury with their pious contributions. *

The spiritual power of the Popes, and their jurisdiction over the clergy, was moreover increased every day, by means of *dispensations* and *appeals*, which had multiplied exceedingly since the introduction of the Decretals of Gregory IX. They disposed, in the most absolute manner, of the dignities and benefices of the Church, and imposed taxes at their pleasure on all the clergy in Christendom. Collectors or treasurers were established by them, who superintended the levying of the dues they had found means to exact, under a multitude of different denominations. These collectors were empowered, by means of ecclesiastical censure, to proceed against those who should refuse to pay. They were supported by the authority of the legates who resided in the ecclesiastical provinces, and seized with avidity every occasion to extend the usurpation of the Pope. Moreover, in support of these legates appeared a vast num-

ber of Religious and Mendicant Orders, founded in those ages of ignorance ; besides legions of monks dispersed over all the states of Christendom.

Nothing is more remarkable than the influence of the papal authority over the temporalities of princes. We find them interfering in all their quarrels—addressing their commands to all without distinction—enjoining some to lay down their arms—receiving others under their protection—rescinding and annulling their acts and proceedings—summoning them to their court, and acting as arbiters in their disputes. The history of the Popes is the history of all Europe. They assumed the privilege of legitimating the sons of kings, in order to qualify them for the succession ; they forbade sovereigns to tax the clergy ; they claimed a feudal superiority over all, and exercised it over a very great number ; they conferred royalty on those who were ambitious of power ; they released subjects from their oath of allegiance ; dethroned sovereigns at their pleasure ; and laid kingdoms and empires under interdict, to avenge their own quarrels. We find them disposing of the states of excommunicated princes, as well as those of heretics and their followers ; of islands and kingdoms newly discovered ; of the property of infidels or schismatics ; and even of Catholics who refused to bow before the insolent tyranny of the Popes. ^a

Thus, it is obvious that the Court of Rome, at the time of which we speak, enjoyed a conspicuous preponderance in the political system of Europe. But in the ordinary course of human affairs, this power, vast and formidable as it was, began, from the fourteenth century, gradually to diminish. The mightiest empires have their appointed term ;

and the highest stage of their elevation is often the first step of their decline. Kings, becoming more and more enlightened as to their true interests, learned to support the rights and the majesty of their crowns, against the encroachments of the Popes. Those who were vassals and tributaries of the Holy See, gradually shook off the yoke; even the clergy, who groaned under the weight of this spiritual despotism, joined the secular princes in repressing these abuses, and restraining within proper bounds a power which was making incessant encroachments on their just prerogatives.

Among the causes which operated the downfall of the Pontifical power, may be ranked the excess of the power itself, and the abuses of it made by the Popes. By issuing too often their anathemas and interdicts, they rendered them useless and contemptible; and by their haughty treatment of the greatest princes, they learned to become inflexible and boundless in their own pretensions. An instance of this may be recorded, in the famous dispute which arose between Boniface VIII. and Philip the Fair, King of France. Not content with constituting himself judge between the King and his vassal the Count of Flanders, that Pontiff maintained, that the King could not exact subsidies from the clergy without his permission; and that the right of *Regale* (or the revenues of vacant bishoprics) which the Crown enjoyed, was an abuse which should not be tolerated.³ He treated as a piece of insanity the prohibition of Philip against exporting either gold or silver out of the kingdom; and sent an order to all the prelates in France to repair in person to Rome on the 1st of November,

there to advise measures for correcting the King and reforming the State. He declared, formally, that the King was subject to the Pope, as well in temporal as in spiritual matters; and that it was a foolish persuasion to suppose that the King had no superior on earth, and was not dependent on the supreme Pontiff.

Philip ordered the papal bull which contained these extravagant assertions to be burnt; he forbade his ecclesiastics to leave the realm; and having twice assembled the States-General of the kingdom (1302-3), he adopted, with their advice and approbation, measures against these dangerous pretensions of the Court of Rome. The Three Estates, who appeared for the first time in these Assemblies, declared themselves strongly in favour of the King, and the independence of the crown. In consequence, the excommunication which the Pope had threatened against the King proved ineffectual. Philip made his appeal to a future assembly, to which the three orders of the State adhered.⁴

The Emperor Louis of Bavaria, a prince of superior merit, having incurred the censures of the Church for defending the rights and prerogatives of his crown, could not obtain absolution, notwithstanding the most humiliating condescensions, and the offer which he made to resign the Imperial dignity, and surrender himself, his crown and his property, to the discretion of the Pope. He was loaded with curses and anathemas, after a series of various proceedings which had been instituted against him. The bull of Pope Clement VI., on this occasion, far surpassed all those of his predecessors. "May God (said he, in speaking of the Emperor) smite him with madness and dis-

ease; may heaven crush him with its thunderbolts; may the wrath of God, and that of St Peter and St Paul, fall on him in this world and the next; may the whole universe combine against him; may the earth swallow him up alive; may his name perish in the first generation, and his memory disappear from the earth; may all the elements conspire against him; may his children, delivered into the hands of his enemies, be massacred before the eyes of their father."

The indignity of such proceedings roused the attention of the princes and states of the Empire; and on the representation of the Electoral College, they thought proper to check these boundless pretensions of the Popes, by a decree which was passed at the Diet of Frankfort in 1338. This decree, regarded as the fundamental law of the Empire, declared, in substance, that the Imperial dignity held only of God; that he whom the Electors had chosen emperor by a plurality of suffrages, was, in virtue of that election, a true king and emperor, and needed neither confirmation nor coronation from the hands of the Pope; and that all persons who should maintain the contrary, should be treated as guilty of high treason.

Among other events prejudicial to the authority of the Popes, one was, the translation of the Pontifical See from Rome to Avignon. Clement V., archbishop of Bourdeaux, having been advanced to the papacy (1305), instead of repairing to Rome, had his coronation celebrated at Lyons; and thence he transferred his residence to Avignon (1309), out of complaisance to Philip the Fair, to whom he owed his elevation. The successors of this Pope continued their court at Avignon until 1367,

when Gregory XI. again removed the See to Rome. This sojourn at Avignon tended to weaken the authority of the Popes, and diminish the respect and veneration which till then had been paid them. The prevailing opinion beyond the Alps, admitted no other city than that of Rome for the true capital of St Peter; and they despised the Popes of Avignon as aliens, who, besides, were there surrounded with powerful princes, to whose caprice they were often obliged to yield, and to make concessions prejudicial to the authority they had usurped. This circumstance, joined to the lapse of nearly seventy years, made the residence at Avignon be stigmatized by the Italians, under the name of the *Babylonish Captivity*. It occasioned also the diminution of the papal authority at Rome, and in the Ecclesiastical States. The Italians, no longer restrained by the presence of the sovereign pontiffs, yielded but a reluctant obedience, to their representatives; while the remembrance of their ancient republicanism induced them to lend a docile ear to those who preached up insurrection and revolt. The historian Rienzi informs us, that one Nicolas Gabrini, a man of great eloquence, and whose audacity was equal to his ambition, took advantage of these republican propensities of the Romans, to constitute himself master of the city, under the popular title of Tribune (1347). He projected the scheme of a new government, called the *Good Estate*, which he pretended would obtain the acceptance of all the princes and republics of Italy; but the despotic power which he exercised over the citizens, whose liberator and lawgiver he affected to be, soon reduced him to his original insignificance; and the

city of Rome again assumed its ancient form of government. Meantime the Popes did not recover their former authority; most of the cities and states of the Ecclesiastical dominions, after having been long a prey to faction and discord, fell under the power of the nobles, who made an easy conquest of them; scarcely leaving to the Pope a vestige of the sovereign authority. It required all the insidious policy of Alexander VI., and the vigilant activity of Julius II., to repair the injury which the territorial influence of the Pontiffs had suffered from their residence at Avignon.

Another circumstance that contributed to humble the papal authority, was the schisms which rent the Church, towards the end of the fourteenth, and beginning of the fifteenth century. Gregory XI., who had abandoned Avignon for Rome, being dead (1378), the Italians elected a Pope of their own nation, who took the name of Urban VI., and fixed his residence at Rome. The French cardinals, on the other hand, declared in favour of the Cardinal Robert of Geneva, known by the name of Clement VII., who fixed his capital at Avignon. The whole of Christendom was divided between these two Popes; and this grand schism continued from 1378 till 1417. At Rome, Urban VI. was succeeded by Boniface IX., Innocent VII., and Gregory XII.; while Clement VII. had Benedict XIII. for his successor at Avignon. In order to terminate this schism, every expedient was tried to induce the rival Popes to give in their abdication; but both having refused, several of the Cardinals withdrew their allegiance, and

assembled a council at Pisa (1409), where the two refractory Popes were deposed, and the pontifical dignity conferred on Alexander V., who was afterwards succeeded by John XXIII. This election of the council only tended to increase the schism. Instead of two Popes, there arose three; and if his Pisan Holiness gained partisans, the Popes of Rome and Avignon contrived also to maintain each a number of supporters. All these Popes, wishing to maintain their rank and dignity with that splendour and magnificence which their predecessors had displayed before the schism, set themselves to invent new means of oppressing the people; hence the immense number of abuses and exactions, which subverted the discipline of the church, and roused the exasperated nations against the court of Rome.

A new General Council was convoked at Constance (1414) by order of the Emperor Sigismund; and it was there that the maxim of the unity and permanency of Councils was established, as well as of its superiority over the Pope, in all that pertains to matters of faith, to the extirpation of schism, and the reformation of the church, both in its supreme head, and in its subordinate members. The grand schism was here terminated by the abdication of the Roman pontiff, and the deposition of those of Pisa and Avignon. It was this famous council that gave their decision against John Huss, the Reformer of Bohemia, and a follower of the celebrated Wickliff. His doctrines were condemned, and he himself burnt at Constance; as was Jerome of Prague, one of his most zealous partisans. As to the measures that were taken at Constance for effecting the reformation of the

Church, they practically ended in nothing. As their main object was to reform the Court of Rome, by suppressing or limiting the new prerogatives which the Popes for several centuries had usurped, and which referred, among other things, to the subject of benefices and pecuniary exactions, all those who had an interest in maintaining these abuses, instantly set themselves to defeat the proposed amendments, and elude redress. The Council had formed a committee, composed of the deputies of different nations, to advise means for accomplishing this reformation, which the whole world so ardently desired. This committee, known by the name of the *College of Reformers*, had already made considerable progress in their task, when a question was started, Whether it was proper to proceed to any reformation without the consent and cooperation of the visible Head of the Church? It was carried in the negative, through the intrigues of the cardinals; and, before they could accomplish this salutary work of reformation, the election of a new Pope had taken place (1417). The choice fell on Otho de Colonna, who assumed the name of Martin V., and in conformity with a previous decision of the council, he then laid before them a scheme of reform. This proceeding having been disapproved by the different nations of Europe, the whole matter was remitted to the next council; and in the meanwhile, they did nothing more than pass some concordats, with the new Pope, as to what steps they should take until the decision of the approaching council.

This new council, which was assembled at Basle (1431) by Martin V., resumed the suspended work

of reformation. The former decrees, that a General Council was superior to the Pope, and could not be dissolved or prorogued except by their own free consent, were here renewed ; and the greater part of the reserves, reversions, annats, and other exactions of the Popes, were regularly abolished. The liberty of appeals to the Court of Rome, was also circumscribed. Eugenius IV., successor to Martin V., alarmed at the destruction thus aimed at his authority, twice proclaimed the dissolution of the Council. The first dissolution, which occurred on the 17th of December 1431, was revoked, at the urgent application of the Emperor Sigismund, by a bull of the same Pope, issued on the 15th of December 1433. In this he acknowledged the validity of the Council, and annulled all that he had formerly done to invalidate its authority. The second dissolution took place on the 1st of October 1437. Eugenius then transferred the Council to Ferrara, and from Ferrara to Florence, on pretext of his negotiating a union with the Greek church. This conduct of the Pope occasioned a new schism. The prelates who remained at Basle, instituted a procedure against him ; they first suspended him for contumacy, and finally deposed him. Amadeus VIII., Ex-duke of Saxony, was elected in his place, under the name of Felix V., and recognised by all the partisans of the Council as the legitimate Pope. This latter schism lasted ten years. Felix V. at length gave in his demission ; and the Council, which had withdrawn from Basle to Lausanne, terminated its sittings in 1449.

The French nation adopted several of the decrees of the Council of Basle in the famous Prag-

matic Sanction, which Charles VII. caused to be drawn up at Bourges (1438); and whose stipulations served as the basis of what is called the *Liberties of the Gallican Church*. The example of the French was speedily followed by the Germans, who acceded to these decrees, at the Diet of Mayence in 1439. The Court of Rome at length regained a part of those honourable and lucrative rights of which the Council of Basle had deprived them, by the concordats which the Germans concluded (1448) with Nicholas V., and the French (1516) with Leo X. The Councils of which we have now spoken, tended materially to limit the exorbitant power of the Roman pontiffs, by giving sanction to the principle which established the superiority of General Councils over the Popes. This maxim put a check to the enterprising ambition of the Court of Rome; and kings availed themselves of it to recover by degrees the prerogatives of their crowns. The Popes, moreover, sensible of their weakness, and of the need they had for the protection of the sovereigns, learned to treat them with more attention and respect.

At length the new light which began to dawn about the fourteenth century, hastened on the progress of this revolution, by gradually dissipating the darkness of superstition into which the nations of Europe were almost universally sunk. In the midst of the distractions which agitated the Empire and the Church, and during the papal schism, several learned and intrepid men made their appearance, who, while investigating the origin and abuse of the new power of the Popes, had the courage to revive the doctrine of the ancient canons, to enlighten the minds of sovereigns as to

their true rights, and to examine with care into the just limits of the sacerdotal authority. Among the first of these reformers was John of Paris, a famous Dominican, who undertook the defence of Philip the Fair, King of France, against Pope Boniface VIII. His example was followed by the celebrated poet Dante Alighieri, who took the part of the Emperor Louis of Bavaria against the Court of Rome. Marsilo de Padua, John de Janduno, William Ockam, Leopold de Babenberg, &c. marched in the track of the Italian poet; and among the crowd of writers that signalized themselves after the grand schism, three French authors particularly distinguished themselves, Peter d'Ailly, Nicholas de Clemange, and John Gerson, whose writings met with general applause. Most of these literary productions, however, were characterized by bad taste. The philosophy of Aristotle, studied in Arabic translations, and disfigured by scholastic subtleties, reigned in all the schools, imposed its fetters on the human mind, and nearly extinguished every vestige of useful knowledge. The belles lettres were quite neglected, and as yet had shed no lustre on the sciences. Sometimes, however, genius broke with a transient splendour through the darkness of this moral horizon; and several extraordinary persons, despising the vain cavils of the schools, began to study truth in the volume of nature, and to copy after the beautiful models of antiquity. Such was Roger Bacon (1294), an Englishman, and a Franciscan friar, who has become so famous by his discoveries in chemistry and mechanical philosophy. Dante (1231), nurtured in the spirit of the ancients, was the first that undertook to refine the Italian

language into poetry, and gave it the polish of elegance and grace in his compositions. He was succeeded by two other celebrated authors, Petrarca and Boccacio (1374–5).

The period of which we speak gave birth to several new inventions, which proved useful auxiliaries to men of genius, and tended to accelerate the progress of knowledge, letters, and arts. Among the principal of these may be mentioned the invention of writing paper, oil-painting, printing, gunpowder, and the mariner's compass; to the effects of which, Europe, in a great measure, owes its civilization, and the new order of things which appeared in the fifteenth century.

Before the invention of paper from linen, parchment was generally used in Europe for the transcribing of books, or the drawing out of public deeds. Cotton paper, which the Arabs brought from the East, was but a poor remedy for the scarceness and dearth of parchment. It would appear, that the invention of paper from linen, and the custom of using it in Europe, is not of older date than the thirteenth century. The famous Montfaucon acknowledges, that, in spite of all his researches, both in France and Italy, he could never find any manuscript or charter, written on our ordinary paper, older than the year 1270, the time when St Louis died. The truth is, we know neither the exact date of the invention of this sort of paper, nor the name of the inventor.⁵ It is certain, however, that the manufacture of paper from cotton must have introduced that of paper from linen; and the only question is, to determine at what time the use of linen became so common in Europe, as to lead us to suppose they might con-

vert its rags into paper. The cultivation of hemp and flax being originally peculiar to the northern countries, it is probable that the first attempts at making paper of linen rags were made in Germany, and the countries abounding in flax and hemp, rather than in the southern provinces of Europe. The most ancient manufactory of paper from linen to be met with in Germany, was established at Nuremberg (1390).

The invention of oil-painting is generally ascribed to the two brothers Van-Eick, the younger of whom, known by the name of John of Bruges, had gained considerable celebrity about the end of the fourteenth century. There is, however, reason to believe that this invention is of an older date. There are two authors who have carried it back to the eleventh century, viz. Theophilus and Eraclius, whose works in manuscript have been preserved in the library at Wolffenbüttel, and in that of Trinity College, Cambridge; and who speak of this art as already known in their times. According to them, all sorts of colours could be mixed up with linseed oil, and employed in painting; but they agree as to the inconvenience of applying this kind of painting to *images* or portraits, on account of the difficulty in drying colours mixed with oil. Admitting the credibility of these two authors, and the high antiquity of their works, it would appear, nevertheless, that they made no great use of this invention; whether it may be that painters preferred to retain their former mode, or that the difficulty of drying oil colours had discouraged them. It is, however, too true, that the finest inventions have often languished in unmerited neglect, long before men had learned to reap

any adequate advantage from them. Were the Van-Eicks the first that practised this style of painting? Or did John of Bruges, the younger of the brothers, and who carried it to the highest degree of perfection, invent some mixture or composition for increasing the exsiccative qualities of linseed or nut oil; especially with regard to colours not easily dried? It belongs to connoisseurs and artists to examine these questions, as well as to decide whether the pictures, alleged to have been painted in oil-colours before the time of the Van-Eicks, were executed with any degree of perfection in that style of painting.⁶ This invention totally changed the system and the principles of the art of painting. It gave birth to rules as to light and shade, and procured modern painters one advantage over the ancients, that of rendering their works much more durable.

One of the most important inventions is that of printing; which was borrowed, it would appear, from the art of engraving on wood; while this latter owes its origin to the moulding or imprinting of common cards, which seems to have suggested the first idea of it. The use of cards was borrowed from Italy; though we find this custom established in Germany soon after the commencement of the fourteenth century, where card-makers formed a distinct trade, about four and twenty years before the invention of printing. It is probable that the Germans were the first who designed models and proper casts for the impression of cards.⁷ The desire of gain, suggested to these card-makers the idea of engraving on wood, after the same manner, all kinds of figures or scenes from Sacred His-

tory, accompanied with legends, or narratives, intended to explain their meaning. It was from these legends, printed in single folios, and published also in the form of books, or rather of impressions from engravings on solid blocks of wood, that the art of typography took its origin.⁸ This wonderful art, to which Europe owes its astonishing progress in the sciences, consists of two distinct inventions,—that of the *moveable types*, and that of the *font*. The former belongs to John Gutenberg, a gentleman of Mayence, who made his first attempt in moveable types at Strasburg, in 1436; the other, which is generally attributed to Peter Schœffer of Gernsheim, took place at Mayence in 1452. Gutenberg resided at Strasburg from 1424 till 1445. Being a noble senator of that city, he married a lady of rank; and during the twenty years of his residence there, he cultivated all sorts of occult arts, especially that of printing. It was chiefly in reference to this latter art that he contracted an acquaintance with several of his wealthy fellow-citizens, one of whom, named Andrew Drizehn, having died, his heirs brought an action against Gutenberg on account of some claims which they laid to his charge. The magistrate ordered an inquiry to be instituted, the original copy of which, drawn up in 1439, was discovered by Schœpflin (1745) in the archives of the city, and is still preserved in the public library at Strasburg. According to this authentic document, it appears, that from the year 1436, there existed a printing-press at Strasburg, under the direction of Gutenberg, and in the house of Andrew Drizehn, his associate; that this press consisted of forms, that were fastened or locked by means of screws;

and that the types, either cut or engraved, which were enclosed within these forms, were moveable.⁹

Gutenberg, after his return to Mayence, still continued his typographical labours. While there, he contracted an acquaintance with a new associate in the exercise of his art (1445)—the famous John Faust, a citizen of Mayence. This second alliance continued only five years; and it is within this interval, as is generally supposed, that the invention of the font, or casting of types, should be placed; as well as that of the die and the mould or matrix, by the help of which the art of typography was brought nearly to its present state of perfection.¹⁰ Some disputes, which had arisen between these new associates, having dissolved their partnership, Faust obtained the press of Gutenberg, with all its printing apparatus, which had fallen to him by sequestration. Gutenberg, however, fitted up another press, and continued to print till the time of his death, in 1468. Not one of the books which issued from the press of this celebrated man, either at Strasburg or Mayence, bears the name of the inventor, or the date of the impression; whether it was that Gutenberg made a secret of his invention, or that the prejudices at the cast to which he belonged prevented him from boasting of his discovery.¹¹ Faust, on the contrary, no sooner saw himself master of Gutenberg's presses, than he became ambitious of notoriety, an example of which he gave by prefixing his name and that of Peter Schœffer to the famous Psalter, which they published in 1457.

The arts of which we have just spoken, in all probability, suggested the idea of engraving on copper, of which we can discover certain traces

towards the middle of the fifteenth century. The honour of this invention is generally ascribed to a goldsmith of Florence, named Maso Finiguerra, who is supposed to have made this discovery about the year 1460, while engraving figures on silver-plate. Baccio Baldini, another Florentine, Andrew Montegna, and Mark Antony Raimondi, both Italians, followed in the steps of Finiguerra, and brought this art to a high degree of perfection. There is, however, some cause to doubt whether Finiguerra was exactly the first to whom the idea of this sort of engraving occurred ; since, in different cabinets in Europe, we find specimens of engraving on copper, of a date earlier than what has been assigned to Finiguerra. If, however, the glory of this invention belongs in reality to the Italians, it is quite certain that the art of engraving on copper, as well as on wood, was cultivated from its infancy, and brought to perfection, in Germany. The first native engravers in that country who are known, either by their names or their signatures, in the fifteenth century, were Martin Schœn, a painter and engraver at Colmar, where he died in 1486 ; the two Israels Von Mecheln, father and son, who resided at Bockholt, in Westphalia ; and Michael Wolgemuth of Nuremberg, the master of the celebrated Albert Durer, who made so conspicuous a figure about the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century.

Next to the invention of printing, there is no other that so much arrests our attention as that of gunpowder, which, by introducing artillery, and a new method of fortifying, attacking, and defending cities, wrought a complete change in the whole art and tactics of war. This invention comprises

several discoveries which it is necessary to distinguish from each other. (1.) The discovery of nitre, the principal ingredient in gunpowder, and the cause of its detonation. (2.) The mixture of nitre with sulphur and charcoal, which, properly speaking, forms the invention of gunpowder. (3.) The application of powder to fire-works. (4.) Its employment as an agent or propelling power for throwing stones, bullets, or other heavy and combustible bodies. (5.) Its employment in springing mines, and destroying fortifications.

All these discoveries belong to different epochs. The knowledge of saltpetre or nitre, and its explosive properties, called detonation, is very ancient. Most probably it was brought to us from the East (India or China), where saltpetre is found in a natural state of preparation. It is not less probable that the nations of the East were acquainted with the composition of gunpowder before the Europeans, and that it was the Arabs who first introduced the use of it into Europe. The celebrated Roger Bacon, an English monk or friar of the thirteenth century, was acquainted with the composition of powder, and its employment in fire-works and public festivities; and according to all appearances, he obtained this information from the Arabic authors, who excelled in their skill of the chemical sciences. The employment of gunpowder in Europe as an agent for throwing balls and stones, is ascertained to have been about the commencement of the fourteenth century; and it was the Arabs who first availed themselves of its advantages in their wars against the Spaniards. From Spain the use

of gunpowder and artillery passed to France, and thence it gradually extended over the other States of Europe. As to the application of powder to mines, and the destruction of fortified works, it does not appear to have been in practice before the end of the fifteenth century.¹² The introduction of bombs and mortars seems to have been of an earlier date (1467). The invention of these in Europe, is attributed to Sigismund Pandolph Malatesta, Prince of Rimini; but in France they were not in use till about the reign of Louis XIII. Muskets and matchlocks began to be introduced early in the fifteenth century. They were without spring-locks till 1517, when for the first time muskets and pistols with spring-locks were manufactured at Nuremberg.

Several circumstances tended to check the progress of fire-arms and the improvement of artillery. Custom made most people prefer their ancient engines of war; the construction of canons was but imperfect;¹³ the manufacture of gunpowder bad; and there was a very general aversion to the newly invented arms, as contrary to humanity, and calculated to extinguish military bravery. Above all, the knights, whose science was rendered completely useless by the introduction of fire-arms, set themselves with all their might to oppose this invention.

From what we have just said it is obvious, that the common tradition which ascribes the invention of gunpowder to a certain monk, named Berthold Schwartz, merits no credit whatever. This tradition is founded on mere hearsay; and no writers agree as to the name, the country, or the circumstances of this pretended inventor; nor as to the

time and place when he made this extraordinary discovery. Lastly, the mariner's compass, so essential to the art of navigation, was likewise the production of the barbarous ages to which we now refer. The ancients were aware of the property of the magnet to attract iron; but its direction towards the pole, and the manner of communicating its magnetic virtues to iron and steel, were unknown even to all those nations of antiquity who were renowned for their navigation and commerce. This discovery is usually attributed to a citizen of Amalfi, named Flavio Gioia, who is said to have lived about the beginning of the fourteenth century. This tradition, ancient though it be, cannot be admitted, because we have incontestable evidence that, before this period, the polarity of the loadstone and the magnetic needle were known in Europe; and that, from the commencement of the thirteenth century, the Provençal mariners made use of the compass in navigation.¹⁴

It must be confessed, however, that we can neither point out the original author of this valuable discovery, nor the true time when it was made. All that can be well ascertained is, that the mariner's compass was rectified by degrees; and that the English had no small share in these corrections. It is to this polar virtue or quality of the loadstone, and the magnetic needle, that we owe the astonishing progress of commerce and navigation in Europe, from the end of the fifteenth century. These were already very considerable at the time of which we speak, although navigation was as yet confined to the Mediterranean, the Baltic, and the shores of the Indian Ocean.

The cities of Italy, the Hanseatic towns, and those of the Low Countries, engrossed, at that time, the principal commerce of Europe. The Venetians, the Genoese, and the Florentines, were masters of the Levant. The Genoese had more especially the command of the Black Sea, while the Venetians laid claim exclusively to the commerce of India and the East, which they carried on through the ports of Egypt and Syria. This rivalry in trade embroiled these two republics in frequent disputes, and involved them in long and sanguinary wars. The result turned in favour of the Venetians, who found means to maintain the empire of the Mediterranean against the Genoese. The manufactories of silk, after having passed from Greece into Sicily, and from Sicily into the other parts of Italy, at length fixed their principal residence at Venice. This city came at length to furnish the greater part of Europe with silk mercery, and the productions of Arabia and India. The Italian merchants, commonly known by the name of Lombards, extended their traffic through all the different states of Europe. Favoured by the privileges and immunities which various sovereigns had granted them, they soon became masters of the commerce and the current money of every country where they established themselves; and, in all probability, they were the first that adopted the practice of Letters or Bills of Exchange, of which we may discover traces towards the middle of the thirteenth century.

The Hanseatic League, which the maritime cities on the Baltic had formed in the thirteenth century, for the protection of their commerce against pirates and brigands, gained very consider-

able accessions of strength in the following century, and even became a very formidable maritime power. A great number of the commercial cities of the Empire, from the Scheld and the isles of Zealand, to the confines of Livonia, entered successively into this League; and many towns in the interior, in order to enjoy their protection, solicited the favour of being admitted under its flag. The first public act of a general confederation among these cities, was drawn up at the assembly of their deputies, held at Cologne, in 1364. The whole of the allied towns were subdivided into *quarters* or *circles*; the most ancient of which were the Venedian quarter, containing the southern and eastern coasts of the Baltic; the Westphalian, for the towns on the western side; and the Saxon, comprehending the inland and intermediate towns. A fourth circle or quarter was afterwards added, that of the cities of Prussia and Livonia. The boundaries of these different circles and their capital towns varied from time to time. The general assemblies of the League were held regularly every three years, in the city of Lubec, which was considered as the capital of the whole League; while each of the three or four circles had also their particular or provincial assemblies.

The most flourishing epoch of this League was about the end of the fourteenth and the early part of the fifteenth century. At that time, the deputies of more than four score cities appeared at its assemblies; and even some towns who had not the privilege of sending deputies were, nevertheless, regarded as allies of the League. Having the command of the whole commerce of the Baltic, their cities exercised at their pleasure the rights of peace

and war, and even of forming alliances. They equipped numerous and powerful fleets, and offered battle to the sovereigns of the North, whenever they presumed to interfere with their monopoly, or to restrict the privileges and exemptions which they had had the weakness to grant them. The productions of the North, such as hemp, flax, timber, potash, tar, corn, hides, furs, and copper, with the produce of the large and small fisheries on the coasts of Schonen, Norway, Lapland, and Iceland,¹⁵ formed the staple of the Hanseatic commerce. They exchanged these commodities, in the western parts of Europe, for wines, fruits, drugs, and all sorts of cloths, which they carried back to the North in return. Their principal factories and warehouses, were at Bruges for Flanders, at London for England, at Novogorod for Russia, and at Bergen for Norway. The merchandise of Italy and the East was imported into Flanders, in Genoese or Venetian bottoms, which, at that time, carried on most of the commerce of the Levant and the Mediterranean.

Extensive as the trade of the Hanseatic cities was, it proved neither solid nor durable. As they were themselves deficient in the articles of raw materials and large manufactories, and entirely dependent on foreign traffic, the industry of other nations, especially of those skilled in the arts, had a ruinous effect on their commerce; and, in course of time, turned the current of merchandise into other channels. Besides, the want of union among these cities, their factions and intestine divisions, and their distance from each other, prevented them from ever forming a territorial or colonial power, or obtaining possession of the Sound, which alone

was able to secure them the exclusive commerce of the Baltic. The sovereigns of Europe, perceiving at length more clearly their true interests, and sensible of the mistake they had committed in surrendering the whole commerce of their kingdom to the Hanseatic merchants, used every means to limit and abridge their privileges more and more. This, in consequence, involved the confederate towns in several destructive wars with the Kings of the North, which exhausted their finances, and induced one city after another to abandon the League. The English and the Dutch, encouraged by the Danish Kings, took advantage of this favourable opportunity to send their vessels to the Baltic; and by degrees they appropriated to themselves the greater part of the trade that had been engrossed by the Hanseatic Union. But what is of more importance to remark, is, that this League, as well as that of Lombardy, having been formed in consequence of the state of anarchy into which the Empire had fallen in the middle ages, the natural result was, that it should lose its credit and its influence in proportion as the feudal anarchy declined, and when the administration of the Empire had assumed a new form, and the landed nobility, emboldened by the accessions which the seventeenth century had made to their power, had found means to compel their dependent cities to return to their allegiance, after having made repeated efforts to throw off their authority, encouraged as they were by the protection which the League held out to them.

In this manner did the famous Hanseatic League, so formidable at the time of which we now speak, decline by degrees during the course of

the seventeenth century, and in the early part of the eighteenth; and during the Thirty Years War it became entirely extinct. The cities of Lubec, Hamburg and Bremen, abandoned by all their confederates, entered into a new union for the interests of their commerce, and preserved the ancient custom of treating in common with foreign powers, under the name of the Hanse Towns.

The cities of Italy and the North were not the only ones that made commerce their pursuit in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Ghent, Bruges, Antwerp, and other towns in the Netherlands, contributed greatly to the prosperity of trade by their manufactures of cloth, cotton, camlets, and tapestry; articles with which they supplied the greater part of Europe. The English exchanged their raw wool with the Belgians, for the finished manufactures of their looms, while the Italians furnished them with the productions of the Levant, and the silk stuffs of India. Nothing is more surprising than the immense population of these cities, whose wealth and affluence raised their rulers to the rank of the most powerful princes in Europe. The city of Bruges was, as it were, the centre and principal repository for the merchandise of the North and the South. Such an entrepôt was necessary, at a time when navigation was yet in its infancy. For this purpose, Flanders and Brabant were extremely proper, as these provinces had an easy communication with all the principal nations of the Continent; and as the great number of their manufactories, together with the abundance of fish which their rivers afforded, naturally attracted a vast concourse of foreign traders. This superiority, as the commercial capital of the Low

Countries, Bruges retained till nearly the end of the fifteenth century, when it lost this preponderance, which was then transferred to the city of Antwerp.

The intestine dissensions with which the cities of Flanders and Brabant were agitated, the restraints which were incessantly imposed on their commerce, and the frequent wars which desolated the Low Countries, induced, from time to time, a great many Flemish operatives about the fourteenth century, and the reign of Edward III., to take refuge in England, where they established their cloth manufactories under the immediate protection of the crown. One circumstance which more particularly contributed to the prosperity of the Dutch commerce, was the new method of salting and barrelling herring, which was discovered about the end of the fourteenth century (or 1400) by a man named William Beukelszoon, a native of Biervliet, near Sluys. The new passage of the Texel, which the sea opened up about the same time, proved a most favourable accident for the city of Amsterdam, which immediately monopolized the principal commerce of the fisheries, and began to be frequented by the Hanseatic traders.

We now return to the history of Germany. The Imperial throne, always elective, was conferred, in 1308, on the princes of the House of Luxembourg, who occupied it till 1438, when the House of Hapsburg obtained the Imperial dignity. It was under the reign of these two dynasties that the government of the Empire, which till then had been vacillating and uncertain, began to assume a

constitutional form, and a new and settled code of laws. That which was published at the Diet of Frankfort in 1338, secured the independence of the Empire against the Popes. It was preceded by a League, ratified at Rensé by the Electors, and known by the name of the *General Union of the Electors*. The Golden Bull, drawn up by the Emperor Charles IV. (1356), in the Diets of Nuremberg and Metz, fixed the order and the form of electing the Emperors, and the ceremonial of their coronation. It ordained that this election should be determined by a majority of the suffrages of the seven Electors—and that the vote of the Elector, who might happen to be chosen, should also be included. Moreover, to prevent those electoral divisions, which had more than once excited factions and civil wars in the Empire, this law fixed irrevocably the right of suffrage in the Principalities, then entitled Electorates. It forbade any division of these principalities, and for this end it introduced the principle of birth-right, and the order of succession, called *agnate*, or direct male line from the same father. Finally, the Golden Bull determined more particularly the rights and privileges of the electors, and confirmed to the electors of the Palatinate and Saxony the viceroyalty or government of the Empire during any interregnum.

The efforts which the Council of Basle made for the reformation of the church excited the attention of the Estates of the empire. In a diet held at Mayence (1439), they adopted several decrees of that council, by a solemn act drawn up in presence of the ambassadors of the council, and of the kings of France, Castille, Arragon, and Portugal. A-

mong these adopted decrees, which were not afterwards altered, we observe those which establish the superiority of councils above the Popes, which prohibited those appeals called *omisso medio*, or *immediate*, and enjoined the Pope to settle all appeals referred to his court, by commissioners appointed by him upon the spot. Two concordats, concluded at Rome and Vienna (1447–48), between the Papal court and the German nation, confirmed these stipulations. The latter of these concordats, however, restored to the Pope several of the reserves, of which the Pragmatic Sanction had deprived him. He was also allowed to retain the right of confirming the prelates, and enjoying the annats and the alternate months.

The ties which united the numerous states of the German empire having been relaxed by the introduction of hereditary feudalism, and the downfall of the Imperial authority, the consequence was, that those states, which were more remote from the seat of authority, by degrees asserted their independence, or were reduced to subjection by their more powerful neighbours. It was in this manner that several provinces of the ancient kingdom of Burgundy, or Arles, passed in succession to the crown of France. Philip the Fair, taking advantage of the disputes which had arisen between the Archbishop and the citizens of Lyons, obliged the Archbishop, Peter de Savoy, to surrender to him by treaty (1312) the sovereignty of the city and its dependencies. The same kingdom acquired the province of Dauphiny, in virtue of the grant which the last Dauphin, Humbert II., made (1349) of his estates to Charles, grandson of Philip de Valois, and first Dauphin of France. Provence was

likewise added (1481) to the dominions of that crown, by the testament of Charles, last Count of Provence, of the House of Anjou. As to the city of Avignon, it was sold (1348) by Joan I., Queen of Naples, and Countess of Provence, to Pope Clement VI., who at the same time obtained letters-patent from the Emperor Charles IV., renouncing the claims of the Empire to the sovereignty of that city, as well as to all lands belonging to the Church.

A most important revolution happened about this time in Switzerland. That country, formerly dependent upon the kingdom of Burgundy, had become an immediate province of the Empire (1218), on the extinction of the Dukes of Zähringen, who had governed it under the title of Regents. About the beginning of the fourteenth century, Switzerland was divided into a number of petty states, both secular and ecclesiastical. Among these we find the Bishop of Basle, the Abbé of St Gall, the Counts of Hapsburg, Toggenburg, Savoy, Gruyeres, Neufchatel, Werdenberg, Bucheck, &c. The towns of Zurich, Soleure, Basle, Berne, and others, had the rank of free and imperial cities. A part of the inhabitants of Uri, Schweitz, and Underwalden, who held immediately of the Empire, were governed by their own magistrates, under the title of Cantons. They were placed by the Emperor under the jurisdiction of governors, who exercised, in his name and that of the Empire, the power of the sword in all these cantons. Such was the constitution of Switzerland, when the Emperor Albert I. of Austria, son of Rodolph of Hapsburg, conceived the project of extending his dominion in that country, where he

already had considerable possessions, in his capacity of Count of Hapsburg, Kyburg, Baden, and Lentzburg. Being desirous of forming Switzerland into a principality, in favour of one of his sons, he made, in course of time, several new acquisitions of territory, with the view of enlarging his estates. The Abbays of Murbach, Einsiedel, Interlaken, and Disentis, and the Canons of Lucerne, sold him their rights and possessions in Glaris, Lucerne, Schwietz, and Underwalden. He next directed his policy against the three immediate cantons of Uri, Schweiz, and Underwalden; and endeavoured to make them acknowledge the superiority of Austria, by tolerating the oppressions which the governors exercised, whom he had appointed to rule them in the name of the Empire. It was under these circumstances that three intrepid individuals, Werner de Stauffach, a native of the canton of Schweiz, Walter Fürst of Uri, and Arnold de Melchthal of Underwalden, took the resolution of delivering their country from the tyranny of a foreign yoke.¹⁶ The conspiracy which they formed for this purpose, broke out on the 1st of January 1308. The governors, surprised in their castles by the conspirators, were banished the country, and their castles razed to the ground. The deputies of the three cantons assembled, and entered into a league of ten years for the maintenance of their liberties and their privileges; reserving however to the Empire its proper rights, as also those claimed by the superiors, whether lay or ecclesiastical. Thus a conspiracy, which was originally turned only against Austria, terminated in withdrawing Switzerland from the sovereignty

of the German empire. The victory which the confederates gained over the Austrians at Morgarten, on the borders of the canton of Schweitz, encouraged them to renew their league at Brunnen (1315); and to render it perpetual. As it was confirmed by oath, the confederates, from this circumstance, got the name of *Eidgenossen*, which means, *bound by oath*. This league became henceforth the basis of the federal system of the Swiss, who were not long in strengthening their cause by the accession of other cantons. The city of Lucerne, having shaken off the yoke of Hapsburg, joined the League of Brunnen in 1332, Zurich in 1351, Glaris and Zug in 1353, and Berne in 1355. These formed the eight ancient cantons.

The situation of the confederates, however, could not fail to be very embarrassing, so long as the Austrians retained the vast possessions which they had in the very centre of Switzerland. The proscription which the Emperor Sigismund and the Council of Constance, issued against Frederic, Duke of Austria (1415), as an adherent and protector of John XXIII., at length furnished the Swiss with a favourable occasion for depriving the house of Austria of their possessions. The Bernese were the first to set the example; they took from the Austrian Dukes, the towns of Zoffingen, Arau, and Bruck, with the counties of Hapsburg and Lentzburg, and the greater part of Aargau. Kyburg fell into the hands of the Zurichers; the Lucernese made themselves masters of Sursée; and the free bailiwicks, with the county of Baden, the towns of Mellingen and Bremgarten, were subdued by the combined forces of the ancient cantons, who, since then, have possessed them in common.

In the kingdom of Lorraine a new power rose about this time (1363), that of the Dukes of Burgundy. Philip the Hardy, younger son of John the Good, King of France, having been created Duke of Burgundy by the King his father, married Margaret, daughter and heiress of Louis III., last Count of Flanders. By this marriage he obtained Flanders, Artois, Frenche-Comté, Nevers, Rethel, Malines, and Antwerp, and transmitted these estates to his son John the Fearless, and his grandson Philip the Good. This latter prince increased them still more by several new acquisitions. The Count of Namur sold him his whole patrimony, (1428). He inherited from his cousin Philip of Burgundy, the duchies of Brabant and Limbourg, (1430). Another cousin, the famous Jaqueline de Bavaria, made over to him by treaty (1433) the counties of Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Friesland. Finally, he acquired also the duchy of Luxembourg and the county of Chiny, by a compact which he made with the Princess Elizabeth (1443), niece of the Emperor Sigismund. These different accessions were so much the more important, as the Low Countries, especially Flanders and Brabant, were at that time the seat of the most flourishing manufactories, and the principal mart of European commerce. Hence it happened, that the Dukes of Burgundy began to compete with the first powers in Europe, and even to rival the Kings of France.

Among the principal reigning families of the Empire, several revolutions took place. The ancient Slavonic dynasty of the Dukes and Kings of Bohemia became extinct with Wenceslaus V., who was assassinated in 1306. The Emperor Henry

VII., of the house of Luxembourg, seized this opportunity of transferring to his own family the kingdom of Bohemia, in which he invested his son John (1309), who had married the Princess Elizabeth, sister to the last King of Bohemia. John, having made considerable acquisitions in Bohemia, was induced to cede, by treaty with Poland, the sovereignty of that province. The Emperor Charles IV., son of John, incorporated Silesia, as also Lusatia, with the kingdom of Bohemia, by the Pragmatics which he published in 1355 and 1370. The war with the Hussites broke out on the death of the Emperor Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia (1418); because the followers of John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, had refused to acknowledge, as successor of that prince, the Emperor Sigismund, his brother and heir, whom they blamed for the martyrdom of their leaders. This war, one of the most sanguinary which the spirit of intolerance and fanaticism ever excited, continued for a long series of years. John de Trocznova, surnamed Ziska, general-in-chief of the Hussites, defeated several times those numerous armies of crusaders, which were sent against him into Bohemia; and it was not till long after the death of that extraordinary man, that Sigismund succeeded in allaying the tempest, and reestablishing his own authority in that kingdom.

The house of Wittelsbach, which possessed at the same time the Palatinate and Bavaria, was divided into two principal branches, viz. that of the Electors Palatine, and the Dukes of Bavaria. By the treaty of division, which was entered into at Pavia (1329), they agreed on a reciprocal succession of the two branches, in case the one or the

other should happen to fail of heirs-male. The direct line of the Electors of Saxony of the Ascanian House happening to become extinct, the Emperor Sigismund, without paying any regard to the claims of the younger branches of Saxony, conferred that Electorate (1423), as a vacant fief of the Empire, on Frederic the Warlike, Margrave of Misnia, who had rendered him signal assistance in the war against the Hussites. This Prince had two grandsons, Ernest and Albert, from whom are descended the two principal branches, which still divide the House of Saxony.

The Ascanian dynasty did not lose merely the Electorate of Saxony, as we have just stated; it was also deprived, in the preceding century, of the Electorate of Brandenburg. Albert, surnamed the Bear, a scion of this house, had transmitted this latter Electorate, of which he was the founder, to his descendants in direct line, the male-heirs of which failed about the beginning of the fourteenth century. The Emperor Louis of Bavaria then bestowed it on his eldest son Louis (1324), to the exclusion of the collateral branches of Saxony and Anhalt. The Bavarian Princes, however, did not long preserve this Electorate; they surrendered it (1373) to the Emperor Charles IV., whose son Sigismund ceded it to Frederic, Burgrave of Nuremberg, of the House of Hohenzollern, who had advanced him considerable sums to defray his expeditions into Hungary. This Prince was solemnly invested with the electoral dignity by the Emperor, at the Council of Constance (1417), and became the ancestor of all the Electors and Margraves of Brandenburg, as well as of the Kings of Prussia.

The numerous republics which had sprung up

in Italy, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, were torn to pieces by contending factions, and a prey to mutual and incessant hostilities. What contributed to augment the trouble and confusion in that unhappy country was, that, during a long series of years, no Emperor had repaired thither in person, or made the smallest attempt to restore the Imperial authority in those states. The feeble efforts of Henry VII., Louis of Bavaria, and Charles IV., only served to prove, that in Italy the royal prerogative was without vigour or effect. Anarchy everywhere prevailed; and that spirit of liberty and republicanism which had once animated the Italians gradually disappeared. Disgusted at length with privileges which had become so fatal to them, some of these republics adopted the plan of choosing new masters; while others were subjected, against their inclinations, by the more powerful of the nobles. The Marquises of Este seized Modena and Reggio (1336), and obtained the ducal dignity (1452) from the Emperor Frederic III. Mantua fell to the house of Gonzaga, who possessed that sovereignty first under the title of Margraves, and afterwards under that of Dukes, which was conferred on them by the Emperor Charles V. in 1530. But the greater part of these Italian republics fell to the share of the Visconti of Milan. The person who founded the prosperity of their house was Matthew Visconti, nephew of Otho Visconti, Archbishop of Milan. Invested with the titles of Captain and Imperial Viceroy in Lombardy, he continued to make himself be acknowledged as sovereign of Milan (1315), and conquered in succession all the principal towns and republics of Lombardy. His

successors followed his example: they enlarged their territories by several new conquests, till at length John Galeas, great grandson of Matthew Visconti, obtained, from the Emperor Wenceslaus (1395), for a sum of a hundred thousand florins of gold which he paid him, the title of Duke of Milan for himself and all his descendants. The Visconti family reigned at Milan till 1447, when they were replaced by that of Sforza.

Among the republics of Italy who escaped the catastrophe of the fourteenth century, the most conspicuous were those of Florence, Genoa and Venice. The city of Florence, like all the others in Tuscany, formed itself into a republic about the end of the twelfth century. Its government underwent frequent changes, after the introduction of a democracy about the middle of the thirteenth century. The various factions which had agitated the republic, induced the Florentines to elect a magistrate (1292), called *Gonfaloniere de Justice*, or Captain of Justice; invested with power to assemble the inhabitants under his standard, whenever the means for conciliation were insufficient to suppress faction and restore peace. These internal agitations, however, did not prevent the Florentines from enriching themselves by means of their commerce and manufactures. They succeeded, in course of time, in subjecting the greater part of the free cities of Tuscany, and especially that of Pisa, which they conquered in 1406. The republic of Lucca was the only one that maintained its independence, in spite of all the efforts which the Florentines made to subdue it. The republican form of government continued in Florence till the year 1530, when the family of the Medici usurped the

sovereignty, under the protection of the Emperor Charles V.

The same rivalry which had set the Genoese to quarrel with the Pisans, excited their jealousy against the Venetians. The interests of these two Republics thwarted each other, both in the Levant and the Mediterranean. This gave rise to a long and disastrous series of wars, the last and most memorable of which was that of Chioggia (1376–82). The Genoese, after a signal victory which they obtained over the Venetians, before Pola in the Adriatic Gulf, penetrated to the very midst of the lagoons of Venice, and attacked the port of Chioggia. Peter Doria made himself master of this port; he would have even surprised Venice, had he taken advantage of the first consternation of the Venetians, who were already deliberating whether they should abandon their city and take refuge in the isle of Candia. The tardiness of the Genoese admiral gave them time to recover themselves. Impelled by a noble despair, they made extraordinary efforts to equip a new fleet, with which they attacked the Genoese near Chioggia. This place was retaken (24th June 1380), and the severe check which the Genoese there received, may be said to have decided the command of the sea in favour of the Venetians. But what contributed still more to the downfall of the Genoese, was the instability of their government, and the internal commotions of the republic. Agitated by continual divisions between the nobles and the common citizens, and incapable of managing their own affairs, they at length surrendered themselves to the power of strangers. Volatile and inconstant, and equally impatient of liberty as of servitude,

these fickle republicans underwent a frequent change of masters. Twice (1396–1458) they put themselves under the protection of the Kings of France. At length they discarded the French, and chose for their protector either the Marquis of Montferrat or the Duke of Milan. Finally, from the year 1464, the city of Genoa was constantly regarded as a dependency of the duchy of Milan, until 1528, when it recovered once more its ancient state of independence.

While the Republic of Genoa was gradually declining, that of Venice was every day acquiring new accessions of power. The numerous establishments which they had formed in the Adriatic Gulf and the Eastern Seas, together with the additional vigour which they derived from the introduction of the hereditary aristocracy, were highly advantageous to the progress of their commerce and marine. The treaty which they concluded with the Sultan of Egypt (1343), by guaranteeing to their republic an entire liberty of commerce in the ports of Syria and Egypt, as also the privilege of having consuls at Alexandria and Damascus, put it in their power gradually to appropriate to themselves the whole trade of India, and to maintain it against the Genoese, who had disputed with them the commerce of the East, as well as the command of the sea. These successes encouraged the Venetians to make new acquisitions; the turbulent state of Lombardy having afforded them an opportunity of enlarging their dominions on the continent of Italy, where at first they had possessed only the single dogeship of Venice, and the small province of Istria. They seized on

Treviso, and the whole Trevisan March (1388), which they took from the powerful house of Carrara. In 1420 they again got possession of Dalmatia, which they conquered from Sigismund, King of Hungary. This conquest paved the way for that of Friuli, which they took about the same time from the Patriarch of Aquileia, an ally of the King of Hungary. At length, by a succession of good fortune, they detached from the duchy of Milan (1404) the cities and territories of Vicenza, Belluno, Verona, Padua, Brescia, Bergamo, and Cremona (1454), and thus formed a considerable estate on the mainland.

Naples, during the course of this period, was governed by a descendant of Charles, of the first House of Anjou, and younger brother of St Louis. Queen Joan I., daughter of Robert, King of Naples, having no children of her own, adopted a younger prince of the Angevine family, Charles of Durazzo, whom she destined as her successor, after having given him her niece in marriage. This ungrateful prince, in his eagerness to possess the crown, took arms against the Queen his benefactress, and compelled her to solicit the aid of foreign powers. It was on this occasion that Joan, after rescinding and annulling her former deed of adoption, made another in favour of Louis I., younger brother of Charles V., King of France, and founder of the second House of Anjou. But the succours of that prince came too late to save the Queen from the hands of her cruel enemy. Charles having made himself master of Naples and of the Queen's person (1382), immediately put her to death, and maintained himself on the throne, in spite of his adversary Louis of Anjou, who ob-

tained nothing more of the Queen's estates than the single county of Provence, which he transmitted to his descendants, together with his claim on the kingdom of Naples. Joan II., daughter and heiress of Charles of Durazzo, having been attacked by Louis III. of Anjou, who wished to enforce the rights of adoption which had descended to him from his grandfather Louis I., she implored the protection of Alphonso V., King of Arragon, whom she adopted and declared her heir (1421); but afterwards, having quarrelled with that prince, she changed her resolution, and passed a new act of adoption (1423) in favour of that same Louis of Anjou who had just made war against her. René of Anjou, the brother and successor of that prince, took possession of the kingdom of Naples on the death of Joan II. (1435); but he was expelled by the King of Arragon (1445), who had procured from Pope Eugenius IV. the investiture of that kingdom, which he transmitted to his natural son Ferdinand, descended from a particular branch of the Kings of Naples. The rights of the second race of Angevine princes, were transferred to the Kings of France, along with the county of Provence (1481).

Spain, which was divided into a variety of sovereignties both Christian and Mahometan, presented at this time a kind of separate or distinct continent, whose interests had almost nothing in common with the rest of Europe. The Kings of Navarre, Castille, and Arragon, disagreeing among themselves, and occupied with the internal affairs of their own kingdoms, had but little leisure to attempt or accomplish any foreign enterprise. Of all the Kings of Castille at this period,

the most famous, in the wars against the Moors, was Alphonso XI. The Mahometan kings of Morocco and Grenada having united their forces, laid siege to the city of Tariffa in Andalusia, where Alphonso, assisted by the King of Portugal, ventured to attack them in the neighbourhood of that place. He gained a complete victory over the Moors (1340); and this was followed by the conquest of various other cities and districts; among others, Alcala-Real, and Algeziras.

While the Kings of Castille were extending their conquests in the interior of Spain, those of Arragon, hemmed in by the Castellians, were obliged to look for aggrandisement abroad. They possessed the country of Barcelona or Catalonia, in virtue of the marriage of Count Raymond Berenger IV. with Donna Petronilla, heiress of the kingdom of Arragon. To this they added the county of Rousillon, and the seignory or lordship of Montpellier, both of which, as well as Catalonia, belonged to the sovereignty of France. Don James I., who conquered the kingdom of Valencia and the Balearic Isles, gave these, with Rousillon and Montpellier, to Don James his younger son, and who was a descendant of the Kings of Majorca, the last of whom, Don James III., sold Montpellier to France (1349). Don Pedro III., King of Arragon, and eldest son of Don James I., took Sicily, as we have already seen, from Charles I. of Anjou. Ferdinand II., a younger son of Don Pedro, formed a separate branch of the kings of Sicily, on the extinction of which (1409), that kingdom reverted to the crown of Arragon. Sardinia was incorporated with the kingdom of Arragon by Don James II., who had conquered it from

the Pisans. Finally, Alphonso V., King of Arragon, having deprived the Angevines of the kingdom of Naples, established a distinct line of Neapolitan kings. This kingdom was at length united with the monarchy of Arragon by Ferdinand the Catholic.

In Portugal, the legitimate line of kings, descendants of Henry of Burgundy, had failed in Don Ferdinand, son and successor of Don Pedro III. This prince had an only daughter named Beatrix, born in criminal intercourse with Eleonora Tellez de Meneses, whom he had taken from her lawful husband. Being desirous to make this princess his successor, he married her, at the age of eleven, to John I., King of Castille; securing the throne to the son who should be born of this union, and failing him, to the King of Castille his son-in-law. Ferdinand dying soon after this marriage, Don Juan, his natural brother, and grand-master of the order of Aviez, knowing the aversion of the Portuguese for the Castillian sway, turned this to his own advantage, by seizing the regency, of which he had deprived the Queen-dowager. The King of Castille immediately laid siege to Lisbon; but having miscarried in this enterprise, the States of Portugal assembled at Coimbra, and conferred the crown on Don Juan, known in history by the name of *John the Bastard*. This prince, aided with troops from England, engaged the Castillians and their allies the French, at the famous battle fought on the plains of Aljubarota (14th August 1385). The Portuguese remained masters of the field, and John the Bastard succeeded in maintaining himself on the throne of Portu-

gal. The war, however, continued several years between the Portuguese and the Castillians, and did not terminate till 1411. By the peace which was then concluded, Henry III., son of John I., King of Castille, agreed never to urge the claims of Queen Beatrix, his mother-in-law, who had no children. John the Bastard founded a new dynasty of kings, who occupied the throne of Portugal from 1385 to 1580.

In France, the direct line of kings, descendants of Hugh Capet, having become extinct in the sons of Philip the Fair, the crown passed to the collateral branch of Valois (1328), which furnished a series of thirteen kings, during a period of two hundred and sixty one years.

The rivalry between France and England, which had sprung up during the preceding period, assumed a more hostile character on the accession of the family of Valois. Till then, the quarrels of the two nations had been limited to some particular territory, or province ; but now they disputed even the succession to the throne of France, which the kings of England claimed as their right. Edward III., by his mother, Isabella of France, was nephew to Charles IV., the last of the Capetian kings in a direct line. He claimed the succession in opposition to Philip VI., surnamed de Valois, who being cousin-german to Charles, was one degree more remote than the King of England. The claim of Edward was opposed by the Salic law, which excluded females from the succession to the throne ; but, according to the interpretation of that prince, the law admitted his right, and must be understood as referring to females personally, who were excluded on account of the weakness of their

sex, and not to their male descendants. Granting that his mother, Isabella, could not herself aspire to the crown, he maintained that she gave him the right of proximity, which qualified him for the succession. The States of France, however, having decided in favour of Philip, the King of England did fealty and homage to that prince for the duchy of Guienne; but he laid no claim to the crown until 1337, when he assumed the title and arms of the King of France. The war which began in 1338, was renewed during several reigns, for the space of a hundred years, and ended with the entire expulsion of the English from France.

Nothing could be more wretched than the situation of this kingdom during the reign of Charles VI. That prince having fallen into a state of insanity in the flower of his age, two parties, those of Burgundy and Orleans, who had disputed with each other about the regency, divided the Court into factions, and kindled the flames of civil war in the four corners of the kingdom. John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy, and uncle to the king, caused Louis, Duke of Orleans, the King's own brother, to be assassinated at Paris (1407). He himself was assassinated in his turn (1419) on the bridge of Montereau, in the very presence of the Dauphin, who was afterwards king, under the name of Charles the VII. These dissensions gave the English an opportunity for renewing the war. Henry the V. of England gained the famous battle of Agincourt, which was followed by the conquest of all Normandy. Isabella of Bavaria then abandoned the faction of Orleans, and the party of her son the Dauphin, and joined that of Burgundy. Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy,

and son of John the Fearless, being determined to revenge the death of his father, which he laid to the charge of the Dauphin, entered into a negotiation with England, into which he contrived to draw Queen Isabella, and the imbecile Charles the VI. By the treaty of peace concluded at Troyes in Champagne (1420), it was agreed that Catharine of France, daughter of Charles VI. and Isabella of Bavaria, should espouse Henry V., and that, on the death of the King, the crown should pass to Henry, and the children of his marriage with the Princess of France; to the exclusion of the Dauphin, who, as an accomplice in the murder of the Duke of Burgundy, was declared to have lost his rights to the crown, and was banished from the kingdom. Henry V. died in the flower of his age, and his death was followed soon after by that of Charles VI. Henry VI., son of Henry V. and Catharine of France, being then proclaimed King of England and France, fixed his residence at Paris, and had for his regents his two uncles, the Dukes of Bedford and Gloucester.

Such was the preponderance of the English and Burgundian party in France at this period, that Charles VII., commonly called the Dauphin, more than once saw himself upon the point of being expelled the kingdom. He owed his safety entirely to the appearance of the famous Joan of Arc, called the Maid of Orleans. This extraordinary woman revived the drooping courage of the French. She compelled the English to raise the siege of Orleans, and brought the King to be crowned at Rheims (1429). But what contributed still more to retrieve the party of Charles VII., was the reconciliation of that prince with the Duke of Bur-

gundy, which took place at the peace of Arras (1435). The Duke having then united his forces with those of the King, the English were in their turn expelled from France (1453), the single city of Calais being all that remained to them of their former conquests.

An important revolution happened in the government of France under the reign of Charles VII. The royal authority gained fresh vigour by the expulsion of the English, and the reconciliation of various parties that took place in consequence. The feudal system, which till then had prevailed in France fell by degrees into disuse. Charles was the first king who established a permanent militia, and taught his successors to abandon the feudal mode of warfare. This prince also instituted *Companies of ordonance* (1445); and, to defray the expense of their maintenance, he ordered, of his own authority, a certain impost to be levied, called the Tax of the *Gens-d'armes*. This standing army, which at first amounted only to six thousand men, was augmented in course of time, while the royal finances increased in proportion. By means of these establishments, the kings obtained such an ascendancy over their vassals that they soon found themselves in a condition to prescribe laws to them, and thus gradually to abolish the feudal system. The most powerful of the nobles could make little resistance against a sovereign who was always armed; while the kings, imposing taxes at their pleasure, by degrees dispensed with the necessity of assembling the states-general. The same prince secured the liberties of the Gallican church against the encroachments of the Court of Rome, by solemnly adopting several of the decrees of the Council of

Basle, which he caused to be passed in the National Council held at Bourges, and published under the title of the *Pragmatic Sanction* (1438).

In England, two branches of the reigning family of the Plantagenets, those of Lancaster and York, contested for a long time the right to the crown. Henry IV., the first king of the House of Lancaster, was the son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and grandson of Edward III. King of England. He usurped the crown from Richard II., whom he deposed by act of Parliament (1399). But instead of enforcing the rights which he inherited from his father and grandfather, he rested his claims entirely upon those which he alleged had devolved to him in right of his mother, Blanch of Lancaster, great grand-daughter of Edward, surnamed Hunchback, Earl of Lancaster. This prince, according to a popular tradition, was the eldest son of Henry III., who, it was said, had been excluded from the throne by his younger brother Edward I., on account of his deformity. This tradition proved useful to Henry IV. in excluding the rights of the House of Clarence, who preceded him in the order of succession. This latter family was descended from Lionel, Duke of Clarence, and elder brother of John of Gaunt. Philippine, daughter of Lionel, was married to Edward Mortimer, by whom she had a son, Roger, whom the Parliament, by an act past in 1386, declared presumptive heir to the crown. Ann Mortimer, the daughter of Roger, married Richard, Duke of York, son of Edward Langley, who was the younger brother of John of Gaunt, and thus transferred the right of Lionel to the Royal House of York.*

The Princes of the House of Lancaster are known in English history by the name of the Red Rose, while those of York were designated by that of the White Rose. The former of these Houses occupied the throne for a period of sixty three years, during the reigns of Henry IV. V. VI. It was under the feeble reign of Henry VI. that the House of York began to advance their right to the crown, and that the civil war broke out between the two Roses. Richard, Duke of York, and heir to the claims of Lionel and Mortimer, was the first to raise the standard in this war of competition (1452), which continued more than thirty years, and was one of the most cruel and sanguinary recorded in history. Twelve pitched battles were fought between the two Roses, eighty princes of the blood perished in the contest, and England, during the whole time, presented a tragical spectacle of horror and carnage. Edward IV., son of Richard, Duke of York, and grandson of Ann Mortimer, ascended the throne (1461), which he had stained with the blood of Henry VI.; and of several other Princes of the House of Lancaster.

In Scotland, the male line of the ancient kings having become extinct in Alexander III., a crowd of claimants appeared on the field, who disputed with each other the succession of the throne. The chief of these competitors were the two Scottish families of Baliol and Bruce, both descended by the mother's side from the Royal Family. Four princes of these contending families reigned in Scotland until the year 1371, when the crown passed from the House of Bruce to that of Stuart. Robert II., son of Walter Stuart and Marjory Bruce, succeeded his uncle, David II., and in his

family the throne remained until the Union, when Scotland was united to England about the beginning of the seventeenth century. Under the government of the Stuarts, the royal authority acquired fresh energy after being long restrained and circumscribed by a turbulent nobility. Towards the middle of the fifteenth century, James I., a very accomplished prince, gave the first blow to the feudal system and the exorbitant power of the grandees. He deprived them of several of the crown-lands which they had usurped, and confiscated the property of some of the most audacious whom he had condemned to execution. James II. followed the example of his father. He strengthened the royal authority, by humbling the powerful family of Douglas, as well as by the wise laws which he prevailed with his Parliament to adopt.

The three kingdoms of the North, after having been long agitated by internal dissensions, were at length united into a single monarchy by Margaret, called the Semiramis of the North. This princess was daughter of Valdemar III., the last King of Denmark of the ancient reigning family, and widow of Haco VII., King of Norway. She was first elected Queen of Denmark, and then of Norway, after the death of her son, Olaus V., whom she had by her marriage with Haco, and who died without leaving any posterity (1387). The Swedes, discontented with their King, Albert of Mecklenburg, likewise bestowed their crown upon this princess. Albert was vanquished and made prisoner at the battle of Fablekoeping (1389). The whole of Sweden, from that time, acknowledged the authority of Queen Margaret. Being desirous of uniting the three kingdoms into one

single body-politic, she assembled their respective Estates at Calmar (1397), and there caused her grand-nephew Eric, son of Wratislaus, Duke of Pomerania, and Mary of Mecklenburg, daughter of Ingeburg, her own sister, to be received and crowned as her successor. The act which ratified the perpetual and irrevocable union of the three kingdoms, was approved in that assembly. It provided, that the united states should, in future, have but one and the same king, who should be chosen with the common consent of the Senators and Deputies of the three kingdoms; that they should always give the preference to the descendants of Eric, if there were any; that the three kingdoms should assist each other with their combined forces against all foreign enemies; that each kingdom should preserve its own constitution, its senate, and national legislature, and be governed conformably to its own laws.

This union, how formidable soever it might appear at first sight, was by no means firmly consolidated. A federal system of three monarchies, divided by mutual jealousies, and by dissimilarity in their laws, manners, and institutions, could present nothing either solid or durable. The predilection, besides, which the kings of the union who succeeded Margaret showed for the Danes; the preference which they gave them in the distribution of favours and places of trust, and the tone of superiority which they affected towards their allies, tended naturally to foster animosity and hatred, and, above all, to exasperate the Swedes against the union. Eric, after a very turbulent reign, was deposed, and his nephew, Christopher

the Bavarian, was elected King of the union in his place. This latter prince having died without issue, the Swedes took this opportunity of breaking the union, and choosing a king of their own, Charles Canutson Bonde, known by the title of Charles VIII. It was he who induced the Danes to venture likewise on a new election; and this same year they transferred their crown to Christian, son of Thierry, and Count of Oldenburg, descended by the female side from the race of their ancient kings. This prince had the good fortune to renew the union with Norway (1450); he likewise governed Sweden from the year 1437, when Charles VIII. was expelled by his subjects, till 1464, when he was recalled. But what deserves more particularly to be remarked, is the acquisition which Christian made of the provinces of Sleswic and Holstein, to which he succeeded (1459), by a disposition of the States of these provinces, after the death of Duke Adolphus, the maternal uncle of the new King of Denmark, and last male heir of the Counts of Holstein, of the ancient House of Schauenburg. Christian I. was the progenitor of all the Kings who have since reigned in Denmark and Norway. His grandson lost Sweden; but, in the last century, the thrones both of Russia and Sweden were occupied by princes of his family.

Russia, during the whole of this period, groaned under the degrading yoke of the Moguls and the Tartars. The Grand Dukes, as well as the other Russian princes, were obliged to solicit the confirmation of their dignity from the Khan of Kipzack, who granted or refused it at his pleasure. The dissensions which arose among these northern princes, were in like manner submitted to his de-

cision. When summoned to appear at his horde, they were obliged to repair thither without delay, and often suffered the punishment of ignominy and death.¹⁷ The contributions which the Khans at first exacted from the Russians in the shape of gratuitous donations, were converted, in course of time, into regular tribute. Bereke Khan, the successor of Batou, was the first who levied this tribute by officers of his own nation. His successors increased still more the load of these taxes; they even subjected the Russian princes to the performance of military service.

The Grand Ducal dignity, which for a long time belonged exclusively to the chiefs of the principalities of Vladimir and Kiaso, became common, about the end of the fourteenth century, to several of the other principalities, who shared among them the dominion of Russia. The princes of Rezan, Twer, Smolensko, and several others, took the title of Grand Dukes, to distinguish themselves from the petty princes who were established within their principalities. These divisions, together with the internal broils to which they gave rise, emboldened the Lithuanians and Poles to carry their victorious arms into Russia; and by degrees they dismembered the whole western part of the ancient empire.

The Lithuanians,¹⁸ who are supposed to have been of the same race with the ancient Prussians, Lethonians, Livonians, and Estonians, inhabited originally the banks of the rivers Niemen and Wilia; an inconsiderable state, comprehending Samogitia and a part of the ancient Palatinates of Troki and Wilna. After having been tributaries to the Russians for a long time, the princes of

Lithuania shook off their yoke, and began to aggrandise themselves at the expense of the Grand Dukes, their former masters. Towards the middle of the eleventh century, they passed the Wilia, founded the town of Kiernow, and took from the Russians Braclaw, Novgorodek, Grodno, Borzesc, Bielsk, Pinsk, Mozyr, Polotsk, Minsk, Witepsk, Orza, and Mscislaw, with their extensive dependencies. Ringold was the first of these princes that assumed the dignity of Grand Duke, about the middle of the thirteenth century. His successor Mendog or Mindow, harassed by the Teutonic Knights, embraced Christianity about the year 1252, and was declared King of Lithuania by the Pope; though he afterwards returned to Paganism, and became one of the most cruel enemies of the Christian name. Gedimin, who ascended the throne of the Grand Duke (1315), rendered himself famous by his new conquests. After a series of victories which he gained over the Russian Princes, who were supported by the Tartars, he took possession of the city and Principality of Kiow (1320). The whole of the Grand Duchy of Kiow, and its dependant principalities on this side the Dnieper, were conquered in succession. The Grand Dukes of Lithuania, who had become formidable to all their neighbours, weakened their power by partitioning their estates among their sons; reserving to one, under the title of Grand Duke, the right of superiority over the rest. The civil dissensions which resulted from these divisions, gave the Poles an opportunity of seizing the principalities of Leopold, Przemyśl, and Halitsch (1340), and of taking from the Lithuanians and their Grand Duke

Olgerd, the whole of Volhynia and Podolia, of which they had deprived the Russians (1349.)

Nothing more then remained of the ancient Russian Empire except the Grand Duchy of Wolodimir, so called from the town of that name on the river Kliazma, where the Grand Dukes of Eastern and Northern Russia had their residence, before they had fixed their capital at Moscow; which happened about the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century. This Grand Duchy, which had several dependant and subordinate principalities, was conferred by the Khan of Kipzach (1320) on Iwan or John Danilovitsh, Prince of Moscow, who transmitted it to his descendants. Demetrius Iwanovitsh, grandson of Iwan, took advantage of the turbulence which distracted the grand horde, and turned his arms against the Tartars. Assisted by several of the Russian princes his vassals, he gained a signal victory near the Don (1380), over the Khan Temnic-Mamai, the first which gained the Russians any celebrity, and which procured Demetrius the proud epithet of *Donski*, or conquerer of the Don. This prince, however, gained little advantage by his victory; and for a long time after, the Tartars gave law to the Russians and made them their tributaries. Toktamish Khan, after having vanquished and humbled Mamai, penetrated as far as Moscow, sacked the city, and massacred a great number of the inhabitants. Demetrius was forced to implore the mercy of the conqueror, and to send his son a hostage to the horde in security for his allegiance.

The chief residence of the Teutonic Order, which had formerly been at Verden, was fixed at

Marienburg, a city newly built, which from that time became the capital of all Prussia. The Teutonic Knights did not limit their conquests to Prussia; they took from the Poles Dantzic or Eastern Pomerania (1311), situated between the Netze, the Vistula, and the Baltic Sea, and known since by the name of Pomerelia. This province was definitively ceded to them, with the territory of Culm, and Michelau, by a treaty of peace which was signed at Kalitz (1343). The city of Dantzic, which was their capital, increased considerably under the dominion of the Order, and became one of the principal entrepôts for the commerce of the Baltic. Of all the exploits of these Knights, the most enterprising was that which had for its object the conquest of Lithuania. Religion, and a pretended gift of the Emperor Louis of Bavaria, served them as a pretext for attacking the Lithuanians, who were Pagans, in a murderous war, which continued almost without interruption for the space of a century. The Grand Dukes of Lithuania, always more formidable after their defeat, defended their liberties and independence with a courage and perseverance almost miraculous; and it was only by taking advantage of the dissensions which had arisen in the family of the Grand Duke, that they succeeded in obtaining possession of Samogitia, by the treaty of peace which was concluded at Racianz (1404).

The Knights of Livonia, united to the Teutonic Order under the authority of one and the same Grand Master, added to their former conquests the province of Estonia, which was sold to them by Valdemar IV., King of Denmark.¹⁹ The Teutonic Knights were at the zenith of their greatness,

about the beginning of the fifteenth century. At that time they were become a formidable power in the North, having under their dominion the whole of Prussia, comprehending Pomerania and the New March, as also Samogitia, Courland, Livonia and Estonia.²⁰ A population proportioned to the extent of their dominions, a well regulated treasury, and a flourishing commerce, seemed to guarantee them a solid and durable empire. Nevertheless, the jealousy of their neighbours, the union of Lithuania with Poland, and the conversion of the Lithuanians to Christianity, which deprived the Knights of the assistance of the Crusaders, soon became fatal to their Order, and accelerated their downfall. The Lithuanians again obtained possession of Samogitia, which, with Sudavia, was ceded to them by the various treaties which they concluded with that Order, between 1411—1436.

The oppressive government of the Teutonic Knights—their own private dissensions, and the intolerable burden of taxation—the fatal consequence of incessant war—induced the nobles and cities of Prussia and Pomerania to form a confederacy against the Order, and to solicit the protection of the Kings of Poland. This was granted to them, on their signing a deed of submission to that kingdom (1454). The result was a long and bloody war with Poland, which did not terminate till the peace of Thorn (1466). Poland then obtained the cession of Culm, Michelau and Dantzic; that is to say, all the countries now comprehended under the name of Polish Prussia. The rest of Prussia was retained by the Teutonic Order, who promised, by means of their Grand Master, to do

fealty and homage for it to the Kings of Poland. The chief residence of the Order was then transferred to Coningsberg, where it continued until the time when the Knights were deprived of Prussia by the House of Brandenburg.

At length, however, Poland recovered from this state of weakness into which the unfortunate divisions of Boleslaus III. and his descendants had plunged it. Uladislaus IV. surnamed the Dwarf, having combined several of these principalities, was crowned King of Poland at Cracow (1320). From that time the Royal dignity became permanent in Poland, and was transmitted to all the successors of Uladislaus.²¹ The immediate successor of that Prince was his son Casimir the Great, who renounced his rights of sovereignty over Silesia in favour of the King of Bohemia, and afterwards compensated this loss by the acquisition of several of the provinces of ancient Russia. He likewise took possession of Red Russia (1340), as also of the provinces of Volhynia, Podolia, Chelm and Belz, which he conquered from the Grand Dukes of Lithuania (1349), who had formerly dismembered them from the Russian Empire.

Under Casimir the Great, another revolution happened in the government of Poland. That Prince, having no children of his own, and wishing to bequeath the crown to his nephew Louis, his sister's son, by Charles Robert King of Hungary, convoked a general assembly of the nation at Cracow (1339), and there got the succession of the Hungarian Prince ratified, in opposition to the legitimate rights of the Piast Dynasty, who reigned in Masovia and Silesia. This subversion of the

hereditary right of the different branches of the Piasts, gave the Polish Nobles a pretext for interfering in the election of their Kings, until at last the throne became completely elective. It also afforded them an opportunity for limiting the power of their Kings, and laying the foundation of a republican and aristocratic government. Deputies were sent into Hungary (1355), even during the life of Casimir, who obliged King Louis, his intended successor, to subscribe an act which provided that, on his accession to the crown, he should bind himself, and his successors, to disburden the Polish nobility of all taxes and contributions; that he should never, under any pretext, exact subsidies from them; and that, in travelling, he should claim nothing for the support of his court, in any place during his journey. The ancient race of the Piast sovereigns of Poland ended with Casimir (1370), after having occupied the throne of that kingdom for several centuries.

His successor in Poland and Hungary was Louis, surnamed the Great. In a Diet assembled in 1382, he obtained the concurrence of the Poles, in the choice which he had made of Sigismund of Luxembourg, as his son-in-law and successor in both kingdoms. But on the death of Louis, which happened immediately after, the Poles broke their engagement, and conferred their crown on Hedwiga, a younger daughter of that Prince. It was stipulated, that she should marry Jagello, Grand Duke of Lithuania, who agreed to incorporate Lithuania with Poland, to renounce Paganism, and embrace Christianity, himself and all his subjects. Jagello was baptized, when he received the name of Uladislaus, and was crowned King of Poland

at Cracow (1386).²² It was on the accession of Jagello, that Poland and Lithuania, long opposed in their interests, and implacable enemies of each other, were united into one body politic under the authority of one and the same King. Nevertheless, for nearly two centuries, Lithuania still preserved its own Grand Dukes, who acknowledged the sovereignty of Poland; and it was not, properly speaking, till the reign of Sigismund Augustus, that the union of the two states was finally accomplished (1569). This important union rendered Poland the preponderating power of the North. It became fatal to the influence of the Teutonic Order, who soon yielded to the united efforts of the Poles and Lithuanians.

Uladislaus Jagello did not obtain the assent of the Polish nobility to the succession of his son, except by adding new privileges to those which they had obtained from his predecessor. He was the first of the Polish kings who, for the purpose of imposing an extraordinary taxation, called in the Nuncios or Deputies of the Nobility to the General Diet (1404), and established the use of *Dietines* or provincial diets. His descendants enjoyed the crown until they became extinct, in the sixteenth century. The succession, however, was mixed; and although the princes of the House of Jagello might regard themselves as hereditary possessors of the kingdom, nevertheless, on every change of reign, it was necessary that the crown should be conferred by the choice and consent of the nobility.

In Hungary, the male race of the ancient kings, descendants of Duke Arpad, had become extinct in Andrew III. (1301). The Crown was then

contested by several competitors, and at length fell into the hands of the House of Anjou, the reigning family of Naples. Charles Robert, grandson of Charles II. King of Naples, by Mary of Hungary, outstripped his rivals, and transmitted the Crown to his son Louis, surnamed the Great (1308). This Prince, characterized by his eminent qualities, made a distinguished figure among the Kings of Hungary. He conquered from the Venetians the whole of Dalmatia, from the frontiers of Istria, as far as Durazzo; he reduced the Princes of Moldavia, Walachia, Bosnia and Bulgaria, to a state of dependence; and at length mounted the throne of Poland on the death of his uncle Casimir the Great.²³ Mary, his eldest daughter, succeeded him in the kingdom of Hungary (1382). This Princess married Sigismund of Luxembourg, who thus united the monarchy of Hungary to the Imperial crown.

The reign of Sigismund in Hungary was most unfortunate, and a prey to continual disturbances. He had to sustain the first war against the Ottoman Turks; and with the Emperor of Constantinople, as his ally, he assembled a formidable army, with which he undertook the siege of Nicopolis in Bulgaria. Here he sustained a complete defeat by the Turks. In his retreat he was compelled to embark on the Danube, and directed his flight towards Constantinople. This disaster was followed by new misfortunes. The malcontents of Hungary offered their Crown to Ladislaus, called the Magnanimous, King of Naples, who took possession of Dalmatia, which he afterwards surrendered to the Venetians. Desirous to provide for the defence and security of his kingdom, Sigismund ac-

quired, by treaty with the Prince of Servia, the fortress of Belgrade (1425), which, by its situation at the confluence of the Danube and the Save, seemed to him a proper bulwark to protect Hungary against the Turks. He transmitted the crown of Hungary to his son-in-law, Albert of Austria, who reigned only two years. The war with the Turks was renewed under Uladislaus of Poland, son of Jagello, and successor to Albert. That Prince fought a bloody battle with them near Varna in Bulgaria (1444). The Hungarians again sustained a total defeat, and the King himself lost his life in the action. ²⁴ The safety of Hungary then depended entirely on the bravery of the celebrated John Hunniades, governor of the kingdom, during the minority of Ladislaus, the posthumous son of Albert of Austria. That general signalized himself in various actions against the Turks, and obliged Mahomet II. to raise the siege of Belgrade (1456), where he lost above twenty-five thousand men, and was himself severely wounded.

The Greek Empire was gradually approaching its downfall, under the feeble administration of the House of Paleologus, who had occupied the throne of Constantinople since the year 1261. The same vices of which we have already spoken, the great power of the patriarchs and the monks, the rancour of theological disputes, the fury of sectaries and schismatics, and the internal dissension to which they gave rise, aggravated the misfortunes and disorders of the state, and were instrumental in hastening on its final destruction. John I. and his successors, the last Emperors of Constantinople, being reduced to the sad necessity of paying tribute to the Turks, and marching on military

expeditions, at the command of the Sultans, owed the preservation of their shattered and declining Empire, for some time, entirely to the reverses of fortune which had befallen the Ottomans; and to the difficulties which the siege of their capital presented to a barbarous nation unacquainted with the arts of blockade.

The power of the Ottoman Turks took its rise about the end of the thirteenth century. A Turkish Emir, called Ottoman, or Osman, was its original founder in Asia Minor. He was one of the number of those Emirs, who, after the subversion of the Seljukians of Roum or Iconium, by the Moguls, shared among them the spoils of their ancient masters. A part of Bithynia, and the whole country lying round Mount Olympus, fell to the share of Ottoman, who afterwards formed an alliance with the other Emirs, and invaded the possessions of the Greek Empire, under the feeble reign of the Emperor Andronicus II. Prusa, or Bursa, the principal city of Bithynia, was conquered by Ottoman (1327). He and his successors made it the capital of their new state, which, in course of time, gained the ascendancy over all the other Turkish sovereignties, formed, like that of Ottoman, from the ruins of Iconium and the Greek Empire.

Orchan, the son and successor of Ottoman, instituted the famous Order of the Janissaries, to which in a great measure the Turks owed their success. He took from the Greeks the cities of Nice and Nicomedia in Bithynia; and, after having subdued most of the Turkish Emirs in Asia Minor, he took the title of Sultan or King, as well as that

of Pacha, which is equivalent to the title of Emperor. His son Soliman crossed the Hellespont, by his orders, near the ruins of ancient Troy, and took the city of Gallipoli, in the Thracian Chersonesus (1358). The conquest of this place opened a passage for the Turks into Europe, when Thrace and the whole of Greece was soon inundated by these new invaders. Amurath I., the son and successor of Orchan, made himself master of Adrianople and the whole of Thrace (1360); he next attacked Macedonia, Servia and Bulgaria, and appointed the first *Beglerbeg*, or Governor-general of Romelia. Several Turkish princes of Asia Minor were obliged to acknowledge his authority; he made himself master of Kiutaja, the metropolis of Phrygia, which afterwards became the capital of Anatolia, and the residence of the governor of that province (1389). Amurath was slain at the battle of Cassova, which he fought with the Despot of Servia, assisted by his numerous allies. In this bloody battle the Despot himself was slain, and both sides equally claimed the victory. Bajazet I., the successor of Amurath, put an end to all the Turkish sovereignties which still subsisted in Asia Minor. He completed the reduction of Bulgaria, and maintained the possession of it by the signal victory which he gained at Nicopolis (1396) over Sigismund, King of Hungary. The Greek Empire would have yielded to the persevering efforts of that prince, who had maintained, for ten years, the siege of Constantinople, had he not been attacked, in the midst of these enterprises, by the famous Timour, the new conqueror of Asia.

Timour, commonly called Tamerlane, was one of those Mogul Emirs who had divided amongst

them the sovereignty of Transoxania, after the extinction of the Mogul dynasty of Zagatai. Transoxiana was the theatre of his first exploits ; there he usurped the whole power of the Khans, or Emperors of Zagatai, and fixed the capital of his new dominions at the city of Samarcand (1369). Persia, the whole of Upper Asia, Kipzach, and Hindostan, were vanquished by him in succession ; wherever he marched, he renewed the same scenes of horror, bloodshed, and carnage, which had marked the footsteps of the first Mogul conqueror.²⁵ Timour at length attacked the dominions of Bajazet in Anatolia (1400). He fought a bloody and decisive battle near Angora, in the ancient Gallogrecia, which proved fatal to the Ottoman Empire. Bajazet sustained an entire defeat, and fell himself into the hands of the conqueror. All Anatolia was then conquered and pillaged by the Moguls, and there Timour fixed his winter quarters. Meantime he treated his captive Bajazet with kindness and generosity ; and the anecdote of the iron cage, in which he is said to have confined his prisoner, merits no credit. Sherefeddin Ali, who accompanied Timour in his expedition against Bajazet, makes no mention of it ; on the contrary, he avers that Timour consented to leave him the Empire, and that he granted the investiture of it to him and two of his sons. Bajazet did not long survive his misfortune ; he died of an attack of apoplexy (1403), with which he was struck in the camp of Timour in Caramania.

Timour, a short time after, formed the project of an expedition into China ; but he died on the route in (1405), at the age of sixty-nine. His vast dominions were dismembered after his death.

One of his descendants, named Babour, founded a powerful Empire in India, the remains of which are still preserved under the name of the Empire of the Great Mogul. The invasion of Timour retarded for some time the progress of the Turkish Empire. The fatal dissensions, which arose among the sons of Bajazet, set them at open war with each other. At length Amurath II., the son of Mahomet I., and grandson of Bajazet, succeeded in putting a stop to these divisions, and restored the Empire to its primitive splendour. He deprived the Greeks of all the places which still remained in their hands on the Black Sea, along the coast of Thrace, in Macedonia and Thessaly. He even took, by assault, the wall and forts which they had constructed at the entrance of the isthmus of Corinth, and carried his ravages to the very centre of the Peloponnesus.

The two heroes of the Christians, John Hunniades and Scanderbeg, arrested the progress of the Ottoman Sultan. The former, who was General of the Hungarians, boldly repulsed the Sultan of Servia, whom he was ambitious to conquer. The other, a Greek Prince, who possessed one of the petty states of Albania of which Croja was the capital, resisted with success the repeated attacks of the Turks. Supported by a small but well disciplined army, and favoured by the mountains with which his territory was surrounded, he twice compelled Amurath to raise the siege of Croja. At length appeared Mahomet II., the son and successor of Amurath, (1451). This Prince, who was raised to the Ottoman throne in the twentieth year of his age, conceived the design of achieving the conquest of the Greek Empire, by the taking

of Constantinople. He succeeded in overcoming all the difficulties which obstructed this enterprise, in which several of his predecessors had failed. At the head of an army of three hundred thousand combatants, supported by a fleet of 300 sail, he appeared before that capital, and commenced the siege on the 6th April 1453. The besieged having only from 8000 to 10,000 men to oppose the superior force of the enemy, yielded to the powerful and redoubled efforts of the Turks, after a vigorous defence of fifty-three days. The city was carried by assault, 29th May, and delivered up to the unrestrained pillage of the soldiers. Constantine, surnamed Dragases, the last of the Greek Emperors, perished in the first onset; and all the inhabitants of that great and opulent city were carried into slavery.²⁶ Mahomet, on entering the very day of the sack, saw nothing but one vast and dismal solitude. Wishing afterwards to attract new inhabitants to this city, which he proposed to make the seat of his Empire, he guaranteed an entire liberty of conscience to the Greeks who might come to settle there; and authorized them to proceed to the election of a new patriarch, whose dignity he enhanced by the honours and privileges which he attached to it. He restored also the fortifications of the city, and, by way of precaution against the armaments of the Venetians and other western nations, which he had some reason to dread, he constructed the famous castle of the Dardanelles, at the entrance of the Hellespont.

This conquest was followed by that of Servia, Bosnia, Albania, Greece, and the whole Peloponnese or Morea, as well as most of the islands of the Archipelago. The Greek Empire of Trebizond,

on the coast of Asia Minor, submitted in like manner to the law of the conqueror (1466). David Commenus, the last Emperor, fell by the swords of the Mahometans, and with him perished many of his children and relations. Such a rapid succession of conquests created an alarm among the powers of Christendom. In an assembly, which Pope Pius II. held at Mantua (1459), he proposed a general association among the powers of the West against the Turks. A crusade was published by his orders, and he was on the point of setting out in person at the head of this expedition, when he was suddenly cut off by death at Ancona (1464), where he had appointed the general rendezvous of the confederate troops. This event, added to the terror which the arms of Mahomet had created among the nations of the West, disconcerted the plans of the Crusaders, and was the means of dissolving their confederacy. The Turkish Empire thus became firmly established in Europe, and the Tartars of the Crimea put themselves at the same time under the protection of the Porte.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.



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